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THE fact that American shipmasters in the last century, particularly those from Maine in the years after the Civil War, frequently took their families to sea with them is well known, yet there is little in print about the actual details of family life on shipboard. This is not surprising, for few of us consider the ordinary routine of our daily lives as worth recording in detail, and the inhabitants of Maine coastal towns were as much at home at sea as on land. Even today there are a considerable number of people who were born at sea or have spent part of their lives on board square-riggers, but few of them have realized that their personal experiences are of any general historical significance. Joanna and Lincoln Colcord, the children of Captain Lincoln Alden Colcord of Searsport, are happy exceptions to this rule, for they have taken active steps to preserve in print and at the Penobscot Marine Museum at Searsport varied records of this phase of American life. Photographs of the interiors of ships' cabins are extremely rare, yet Miss Colcord, by long and careful inquiry among shipmasters' families, has turned up a surprising number of them. Several of these pictures, which were originally gathered for an album at her brother's museum, are reproduced in the present number of the NEPTUNE as illustrations to her article 'Domestic Life on American Sailing Ships.'

The varied character of American maritime activity is clearly shown in this issue. It would be difficult to imagine the dignified personages shown on the quarter-decks of the Henry B. Hyde and the William H. Conner driving a dray loaded with kegs of beer through the streets as a means of attracting a crew, yet Mr. Hunt testifies from personal experience that that was the way masters of Pensacola schooners scared up their fishermen during the last war. The Campeche fleet lacked the hierarchical dignity of the commercial square-riggers, yet it was the last American deep-sea fishing fleet that depended exclusively upon sail. In river traffic there is equally great contrast between Harlan and Hollingsworth's Pocahontas and Captain Adams's gundalow Fanny M., yet both were serviceable vessels with long and useful records on their respective rivers.

It is a particular pleasure to be able to present two foreign sources of information about American ships. Mr. Haldane-Robertson, the archivist of Jamaica, has contributed the case histories of certain Philadelphia vessels captured during the Revolution as examples of the rich material in the archives of the Jamaica Vice-Admiralty Court. Mr. Daniel R. Bolt, a member of the Society for Nautical Research, has given us the first of a series of brief records of American-built sailing ships in foreign ownership, which contain much new information about the history of vessels 'sold foreign.' The receipt of this material in war-time encourages the hope that with the return of peace the NEPTUNE may be able to enlarge the source material of American maritime history from other foreign archives and collections as yet untouched.



After end of after cabin, with entrance to after companionway at right



Forward end of after cabin; door at left leads to forward cabin
Ship State of Maine, built at Newcastle, Maine, 1878:
 1,467 tons, 216 x 40.1 x 24.4 feet



Cabin of bark *Guy C. Goss*, built at Bath, Maine, 1879:
1,430 tons, 213.8 x 39.8 x 24.4 feet

Photograph by Captain Walter M. Mallett, about 1900, showing the starboard side of cabin, with the captain's state-room seen through the open door. The windows over the built-in sofa were of ground and figured glass. The forward window had light from the starboard state-room; the other was backed by a clothespress.



Cabin of ship *A. J. Fuller*, built at Bath, Maine, 1881:
1,782 tons, 229.3 x 41.5 x 26 feet

Photograph, showing Captain and Mrs. Theodore P. Colcord seated in the cabin, by Mrs. George C. Lockwood of Norwalk, Connecticut, who made a voyage as passenger with Captain and Mrs. Colcord in 1888.



Domestic Life on American Sailing Ships

BY JOANNA C. COLCORD

RECENT literature, fiction and otherwise, has to some degree familiarized the reading public with the fact that masters of American sailing vessels of the last century customarily took their wives and families to sea with them on at least some voyages. My purpose here (since I was one of those children born and partly reared at sea) is to give a picture of what all this meant in the lives of New England seacoast families.

Family life at sea was made possible by the peculiar co-operative nature of the business of ship ownership and management as it used to be conducted. A vessel was customarily built for a certain man who was to be her master, and he and his friends took shares in the enterprise, each agreeing to pay so many eighths, sixteenths, or whatever, the rest being sold to general investors. Their joint shares usually added up to a controlling interest in the vessel. A master-builder contracted to build, launch, and rig the vessel ready for sea. A managing owner would be chosen to attend to the banking, insurance, and other shore features of the ship's business, to keep the absent master informed of conditions of world trade, and to secure domestic charters when the vessel was homeward bound. But the main burden of ship's business was carried by the captain, who, in addition to his knowledge of navigation and seamanship, had to be well up on business methods and admiralty law.

Under these conditions, if the master wished to take his family with him, no question was ever raised by the other owners. But when the time came, at the beginning of the present century, that shipmasters who were not ready to retire 'went into steam,' not the least of the unpleasant evidences of their changed status in the eyes of owners and managers was the flat prohibition by practically all steamship lines against the presence on board, even as passengers for a single trip, of wives and children of the masters.

In the old days, however, family life at sea was the rule rather than the

exception. Many women accompanied their husbands constantly, not even staying ashore when they were anticipating a child. An incomplete list which has been compiled of those born at sea to families from the small town of Searsport, Maine, contains over seventy names. Only one fatality in childbirth is remembered to have taken place among them. They tell a tale of Captain William Blanchard and his wife, all of whose six children were born on shipboard. Their vessel, the *Wealthy Pendleton*, entered Kobe, Japan, during a typhoon and anchored beside the bark *Willard Mudgett*, which was flying a signal for a doctor; but on account of the weather, no boat came from shore. Ascertaining by signals that the captain's wife was in labor, and the young couple distracted with anxiety, Captain Blanchard got his own boat over, and he and his wife delivered the child successfully.

One woman who lived to grow up and tell the tale, was born in an open boat at sea, after her father's ship had been destroyed by fire.

The accompanying plan (Fig. 1), shows the lay-out of the accommodations provided. There were slight differences between ships, but in their main features, American ship cabins were pretty much alike.

The after cabin, in which seagoing families lived, was sunk part way below the quarter-deck and entered by a companionway—a short flight of stairs in front and slightly to port of the wheel. Small square windows, protected by heavy shutters, opened upon the deck and alleyways near the top of the cabin, and there was a large raised skylight in the center of the main saloon. At night, light was furnished by kerosene lamps swinging in concentric rings called gimbals, which kept them always upright.

The captain's state-room occupied the starboard corner aft; across the companionway from it lay the bathroom and toilet, served by two large salt and fresh water tanks above the ceiling. The ship's medicine chest was built into the bathroom. Two state-rooms occupied the forward corners of the after cabin. The space left for the main saloon was thus roughly in the form of a cross with blunt arms.

Two doors in the forward bulkhead led to the forward cabin where meals were taken. (Plate 27.) This room was long and narrow, with state-rooms and pantry opening off both sides. It was lighted by a skylight, under which was sometimes a swinging rack for glass and condiments. The table, provided with 'fiddles' to prevent the dishes sliding off in rough weather, was flanked by two long fixed settees of mahogany or teak; the captain sat at the head in a revolving arm-chair, also screwed down. The captain and family, together with the chief mate, had their meals first; the other officers were served at a second sitting. The mates and

steward occupied state-rooms opening from the forward cabin; the cook bunked off his galley, in the forward house occupied by the sailors. Exit from the forward cabin to the deck was through a coach-house with doors to starboard and port. If the poop deck ended at the forward end of the cabin, exit was directly to the main deck; otherwise a flight of steps—the forward companionway—led up to the coach-house.

Both cabins were handsomely decorated, the cabinet makers of the shipyards expending their best skill on their beautification. Some were painted white (Plate 25), the panels being separated by pilasters with carved capitals embellished with gold leaf; other cabins were finished in various hard woods. The cabin of the Bath-built bark *Guy C. Goss* (Plate 26) is described as follows: 'The lights back of the made-in sofas were of ground, figured glass . . . The finish of the cabin was all veneer—bird's eye maple, satin-wood and mahogany. Each panel had a small trim of ebony.'

Two built-in sofas, carved and handsomely upholstered, occupied the port and starboard alcoves of the main cabin, and a built-in sideboard stood between the doors leading to the forward cabin. Easy chairs, and a table used as a chart-table at sea, but covered and bearing ornaments in port, completed the furnishing of the main saloon. (Plate 26.) Storage space was provided under the couches and bunks, and in the alleyways under the decks. In port, the rooms were full of the knick-knacks beloved in the last century; when the ship sailed, carpets came up, pictures and ornaments were stowed away, furniture was screwed to the floor, and every movable object was chocked off against the motion of the ship.

In pleasant weather, when the skylights could be opened and the rooms ventilated, the cabins were pleasant living rooms; but during heavy weather, they were necessarily dark and gloomy. The all-pervading odor from the ship's bilges crept into them, and in spite of the protection of shutters, battens, and coamings at the doorways, some of the salt water washing about decks inevitably found its way down into the cabins. The steward was kept busy mopping it up; but after a good wetting down with salt water, the cabin was damp and clammy till the weather cleared.

All the housework in the after cabin—sweeping, cleaning, polishing the brass thresholds—was done by the steward. He also did the heavy washing, brought the food from the galley, served the meals, and washed the dishes. There was little for the captain's wife to do but oversee his work, make the beds, and wash out handkerchiefs and stockings. Chinese were preferred as cooks and stewards, because they were more cleanly and efficient than whites who would take such jobs.

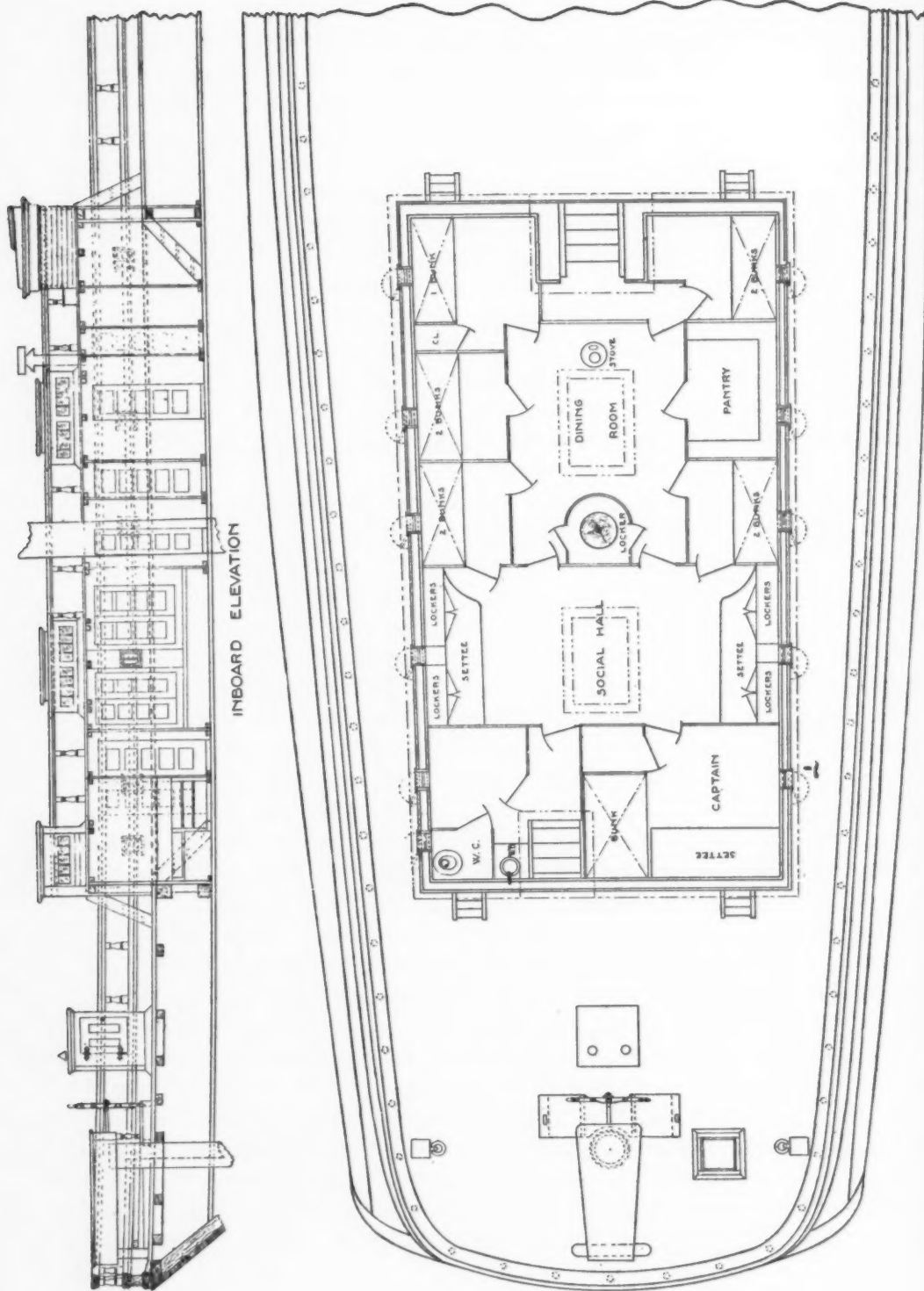


Figure 1. Cabin plan of ship *Emily F. Whitney*, 1,249 tons, built at East Boston, 1879.

The food on American ships was as good as the current methods of food preservation permitted, and far better than in any other merchant service. The only milk was the treacly condensed variety in cans; evaporated milk and cream had not yet come on the market. Tinned Danish butter was always fresh, although it got pretty soft and oily in the tropics. A large variety of canned fruit and vegetables, fish and meat, was carried. The meat was mostly the staple corned beef, and this was supplemented by frequent dishes of the good old salt beef used in the forecabin. The cook would select the best pieces of this for the cabin, and it was delicious; I still recollect the taste of it with pleasure. Fresh potatoes and onions did not long survive the first crossing of the equator. The quality of bread, cakes, and puddings varied with the cook, but Chinese cooks were clever and capable to an extraordinary degree.

In general our meals were excellent, even in heavy weather. We always had a dinner of three courses, soup, meat or fish, and dessert. Split pea or bean soup was a meal in itself, and vegetable soup turned up long after the fresh vegetables were gone. Monday, not Friday, was fish day, the staple for dinner being salt cod and pork scraps, with boiled potatoes. Breakfast also was a hearty meal, with cereal and possibly salt mackerel or tongues and sounds, or a cold meat. For supper we would have hash or some form of hearty food, topped off with canned peaches or pears and cake. Always there were plenty of biscuits, in which infrequently a weevil appeared, startlingly black against the whiteness of the bread. One remembers, too, certain occasions when a long black hair of coarse texture, unmistakably Chinese, would be removed from the bread, at which my mother would be apt to leave the table.

These were hearty men's meals, it will be seen, arranged for the appetite of the captain and the mates; they offered plenty of variety for the children aboard. Occasionally a dolphin or bonito would be caught, or a porpoise grained, and any flying fish that landed aboard were by custom sent aft to the captain's wife, unless the ship's cat got them first. Porpoise was especially delicious, the steaks a sort of half-meat and half-fish, the liver like the finest of calf's liver. Some masters carried hens, rabbits, or even pigs, and I have heard of vessels equipped with milch goats when there were young children aboard.

On a long voyage some food-stuffs would spoil; cook and steward waged incessant battle with mice, rats, weevils, and cockroaches. Toward the end of the trip, the fancy stores ran low. Coming on the coast one winter, we were reduced to little more than flour, beef, and pork. The mate, who could not look black coffee in the face, ground up some chalk

to make its color bearable to him. The cook outdid himself to vary the menu; he contrived a sauce of vinegar, Worcestershire, and chopped pickle thickened with cornstarch which made slices of salt beef taste like a new dish.

But these shortages were usually temporary; the occasions when an American ship ran out of basic provisions were so rare as to be extraordinary. Shortages were preliminary to regular food binges in the first port reached. Milk, fresh meat and vegetables would come off by boatloads before the anchor was fairly down, together with fruit in profusion—cocoanuts and whole bunches of bananas at the islands of the Pacific, grapes and peaches in Chile, pink-fleshed pomeloes and mangosteens in Singapore, lychees and green-skinned sweet oranges in the China ports. Sailing children knew and revelled in them all, though better than the lot of them was the first red-cheeked apple into which one bit when the homeward-bound voyage ended.

Daily life in the after cabin was conditioned by two things: the weather, and the ship's routine. The system of watches meant that at all times except at meal times and in the early evening dogwatch some one of the officers would be sleeping in his room at the forward end of the after house. Piano-playing by the captain's lady, noisy romping by the children, were taboo except for those evening hours. The children played quietly, on the starboard side of the deck if it was the mate's watch below and to port if it was the second mate's. On our ship, we became quite ingenious in developing quiet games. With dominoes for ships, we would charter, load, and sail them on a chart spread on the cabin floor. Boys learned to splice and tie knots, girls learned to sew and do fancy-work, and both, so soon as they were old enough, learned from their fathers some of the processes of navigation. Regular lessons went on at sea; our parents consulted with the teachers at home, and we learned and recited the same lessons from the same books—this was before the days of progressive education—as did our schoolmates at home. There was a ship's library, in a yellow wooden case, changed each voyage by the American Seamen's Friend Society, and the family's own books and periodicals were swapped with other shipmasters' families in every port. Our family was fond of reading aloud, and many pleasant evenings passed with this and with cards, authors and dominoes. I still have a folding table with the scores entered on the bottom, of a cribbage tournament that was kept up for an entire voyage.

Many shipmasters, particularly those who made long voyages alone, developed hobbies, some singularly feminine for men who were surely

not sissies! Captain Andrew S. Pendleton¹ was a master hand at making net lace; he finished a bedspread each voyage. Captain David A. Scribner's² specialty was macramé lace. Captain Joseph P. Sweetser³ became more than an amateur painter of marines. Captain Walter M. Mallett⁴ was a camera fan away back in the gelatin-negative days. Captain Edward Payson Nichols⁵ carried a printing press, and he and his family got out a periodical called *Ocean Chronicle*⁶ which is a graphic and interesting record. The hobby of Captain John Drew of the *Sea Witch*⁷ also was writing—he was a regular contributor to Maine papers under the pseudonym of 'The Kennebecker.' Captain H. A. Starrett, in command of the first ship *Frank N. Thayer*,⁸ during a period of seven years labored over a large rigged model of the vessel which he kept set up in the cabin. This beautiful model is still in the Starrett home in Belfast, Maine, and has been exhibited at the Penobscot Marine Museum. The list of shipmasters' avocations might well be extended. Isabel Hopestill Carter was writing fact, not fancy, when in her fine book *Shipmates* she presents her shipmaster hero as expert in tapestry needlework.

Not only the crew, but everyone on board a ship was subject to discipline. Wives and children, on board by sufferance and carrying no part of the ship's duties, had to learn to keep out of the way when there was men's work afoot. In good weather, they might be on deck as they pleased, so long as they were unobtrusive and quiet; in bad weather their place was below and out of the way. Nerves wore short after thirty-six hours of sleepless vigilance, and the less heard from children while father was trying to catch a few winks between squalls the better for the children! We read, or played games in complete silence, inventing grimaced signals to take the place of words. (Plate 27.)

The curious hierarchy of ship's discipline made the family aft completely isolated from the rest of the ship's company. Women and girls

¹ Captain Pendleton was master of the ship *Emily F. Whitney* (Fig. 1), and the barks *Thomas Fletcher*, *Trovatore*, and *Emma T. Crowell*. His last command was the ship *Aryan*, built in 1893 in Phippsburg, Maine; the last wooden full-rigged ship to be built in the United States.

² Captain Scribner was commander of the ships *St. David*, *St. Francis*, and *Henry B. Hyde*.

³ Captain Sweetser's commands were the ships *Premier*, *Zephyr*, and *John Watt*. His son, Captain Joseph D. Sweetser, who was master only in steam, was also a marine painter and a model-maker.

⁴ Captain Mallett commanded the bark *Guy C. Goss* (Plate 26) and the ship *Hawaiian Isles* (now the Swedish training-ship *Abraham Rydberg*).

⁵ Captain Nichols's best-known command was the ship *Frank Pendleton*.

⁶ Reprinted in 1941 by the Penobscot Marine Museum.

⁷ Not the famous clipper of the name, but the second *Sea Witch*, built by R. F. Jackson in East Boston in 1872.

⁸ Not the second ill-starred vessel of the same name, on board of which in 1885 the famous mutiny took place in which two Malays in the crew ran amok, killed the first and second mates and severely wounded the captain, and took charge of the ship for two days before they leaped overboard.

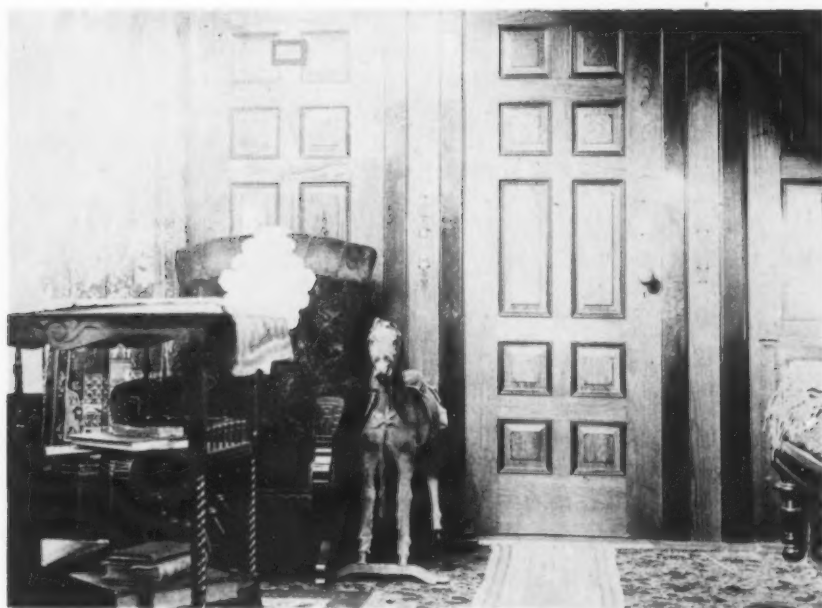
were supposed to behave as if the sailors did not exist. With the officers, some conversation was possible at meals, but not frequently on deck when the mates were on duty. Children might chat with the officers, though not with the men, as long as they did not bother them when busy. The family group was thus thrown upon itself for society as no shore family could possibly be. This should have had bad psychological results, but I cannot discover that it did. Seagoing families continued to be singularly united families in spite of the enforced close association.

But prolonged separation was also familiar to them. Bertrand Russell has remarked that the family was never a suitable institution for seafaring peoples, because 'when one member of the family went on a long voyage while the rest stayed at home, he was inevitably emancipated from family control, and the family was proportionately weakened.' Since the author comes from one of the greatest seafaring peoples the world has ever seen, he ought to know whereof he speaks, but I do not think he does. Something in the alternation of close association and prolonged separation, during which unaccustomed pens learned the art of holding each other close by long journal-letters, seemed to work quite the other way. Seafaring families have remained among the most close-knit of any in the world.

My recollection of the long days at sea is that they were never monotonous. The small incidents of the day, the changes of weather, wind, and the look of the sea, which all had significance to us, made no two days alike. A landfall absorbed us for days before and after; a ship met and signalled at sea was a high peak of excitement. Under favorable conditions, sailing on the same course in the trades, there would sometimes be visiting back and forth between vessels. A British captain came to dinner at sea with us once, and as he stepped over the rail of the American vessel, he asked, 'Do you by any chance know Captain Carver from Searsport, Maine?' That happened to be our home town, and Captain Carver a relative.

A boy's letter in my possession, dated in 1874, which came home on a whaler and bears a 'New Bedford-Ship Letter' postmark, tells of such a visit, and of the mutual treasure which he and the boy on the whaler exchanged. And my own grandmother, wife of Captain Jeremiah Sweetser of the *Mary Goodell*, writing to her eldest son from Rotterdam in 1877 tells of a meeting with neighbors, inward bound from a long voyage, who lived 'just up the road' in Searsport:

We had the pleasure of speaking Capt. [George] McClure in the English Channel. One morning when Father came on deck and was spying at the ships around, he saw



Cabin of barkentine *Kremlin*, built at Bath, Maine, 1890:
699 tons, 161.6 x 36.2 x 17.3 feet

A cabin finished in grained woodwork: entrance to after companionway at right, to captain's state-room at left.



Cabin of ship *Josephus*, built at Newcastle, Maine, 1876:
1,397 tons, 213 x 39.2 x 24.4 feet

Forward end of the after cabin: entrance to forward cabin at left, to starboard state-room on right. The persons shown are unidentified, but are said to have been shore friends of the mate.



Quarter-deck scene, showing entrance to after cabin from poop, on ship *William H. Conner*, built at Searsport, Maine, 1877: 1,496 tons, 210 x 40 x 24 feet
 Left to right: Mrs. B. F. Colcord, Captain B. F. Colcord, Captain Albert M. Colson, all of Searsport.



Group on the quarter-deck of ship *Henry B. Hyde*, built at Bath, Maine, 1884: 2,580 tons, 299 x 45 x 29 feet
 Left to right: Mrs. John Pendleton, Lettie Pendleton (with braid), Lucie Pendleton (with dog), Mrs. James Butman, Captain James Butman (who afterwards went master of the *Hyde*), Captain John Pendleton (then her commander), and a shore friend of the Pendleton girls).

one a little bit ahead of us that he said looked some like the [John C. Potter]. We gained on her and before long he could read the name. . . . They signalled, and before long we came up with them so that they could speak. We kept along together so that they got all the home news we could give them, and two or three times we were so near that Mrs. McClure and I could speak. Father threw a line with a lead on it on board their ship, and sent a nice new ham (one that he got in Queenstown), a late newspaper, a bag of walnuts, and some candy that Bert happened to have for the children. They were all on deck, and Charles [later Captain Charles McClure of the *Iolani*] was kiting around. He seemed quite pleased to see Bert, and wanted him to come down to London while they were there. It was very pleasant meeting them so.

The long periods spent in foreign ports while discharging and loading cargo were holidays from schooling. Social life went on at a great rate among the fleet and with people engaged in shipping industries ashore. The ladies made joint shopping, calling, and sightseeing trips, meeting their husbands at night at the favored ship chandler's store, where all foregathered once a day before going off aboard their respective ships. Several times a week, the masters and their families would all spend an evening aboard one of the vessels, sitting on the broad awning-covered quarter-deck if the weather permitted. (Plate 28.) The white-jacketed steward would pass about with drinks—lemonade for the ladies and children, something a bit stronger for the men—the cigar-tips would glimmer through the soft darkness, and the talk went on, all of ships and of mischances and adventures at sea.

Often picnics would be organized, or excursions to neighboring points of interest. National holidays were the occasion of joint celebrations, participated in by masters of other countries as well. I remember a Thanksgiving dinner at a Buenos Aires hotel at which not more than half the company were Americans; and an English captain gave himself a nasty burn on our poop deck once, when trying to set off a rocket in celebration of America's independence from Great Britain.

But when the fleet was large enough, the different nationalities tended to flock by themselves. 'This is a dreadfully lonely place,' wrote my grandfather from Iquique, 'there is not *another American ship in port!*'

One of the largest gatherings of sailing ships the world has ever seen took place during the 1860's and 1870's when the guano islands of Peru were being feverishly stripped of their vast accumulations of bird-dung to fertilize the worn-out soil of Europe. Hundreds of ships of all nations lay there for months at a time, waiting their turn at the chutes. The islets were rocky deserts with no resident population. There was nothing to go ashore for, until one enterprising captain's wife discovered a wealth of beautiful fine seaweed of all colors which could be floated on paper

and arranged in designs which, owing to the surface gelatin of the weeds, were permanent when dry. A craze ensued, to see which could develop the prettiest designs; and many a lacquered cabinet in New England coast towns still harbors wreaths and pictures made of Chincha Island sea mosses.

I am so fortunate as to possess a series of letters written home from sea by members of my family over a period of nearly one hundred years. Except in time of great national emergency, the writers show no particular interest in social and political developments. My father, arriving in Dunedin, New Zealand, in 1881, was hailed by the pilot who came out to meet him with the news 'Garfield's been shot!' The last thing my father was thinking of was political developments at home; and he told it on himself ever after that he sung out in reply, 'Garfield *who?*' Politics were the concern of shore folks, whom sailors by tradition dislike and even fear. Economics, as they affected world-trade, were of prime importance to them, however; they spent their lives in guessing where to pick up advantageous charters. The vicissitudes of seafaring are discussed in these letters with sailorly brevity; the wives at home are expected to understand the significance of the terms used. But the outstanding characteristic of all is interest in and longing for the seacoast village whence the writers hailed. My grandmother writes wistfully from Java (with all the fruit of the tropics at her disposal), 'It must be just about strawberry time at home now. How I wish I might have a dish before me this minute.' My grandfather, on a long voyage alone, tells his wife that she had better 'sell the pretty cow and keep the homely one—but do as you think best.' He enjoins her, 'Don't suffer for the want of good things, for it gives me far greater pleasure to know that my family has them than to have them myself.' In the next port, she must 'be sure and have lots of letters. Write me all the little local news; it may look small to you, but it interests me.'

The writers of these letters were not rollicking adventurers, swash-buckling carelessly through life; they were cautious New Englanders doing a hard job which some of them even disliked, because by its means they could provide a better livelihood for their families than in any other way open to them. But home was where they always longed to be; and at home most of them now lie, in the cemetery facing south across Penobscot Bay.



Some Philadelphia Ships Condemned at Jamaica during the Revolution

BY LANGTON HALDANE-ROBERTSON,
M.R.S.L.; F.S.A. SCOT.; F.S.S.

MOST considerable is the interest to be found in the records of the old High Court of Vice-Admiralty, Jamaica. Of special import to Americans are the documents affecting the period of the Revolutionary War. They concern every port of size, as well as many a minor one, extending from the old province of Massachusetts Bay, on the north, to Georgia on the south.

Most of the papers are foul with foreign debris, decaying and falling to pieces, stained, worm-eaten, and yellow with age and neglect. No repair work has as yet been possible, although a calendar of these Admiralty records is now being prepared by the writer under appointment of the Colonial Government of Jamaica.

Many functions fell to the Vice-Admiralty Court, but chiefly it existed for adjudication in captures by British vessels during time of war. The records of not less than three thousand such adjudications exist at Spanish Town, representing prizes worth hundreds of millions of dollars, figured at today's money values.

The vessels of Revolutionary War days, plying the sea routes between the North American continent and the West Indies were quite small; seldom did their burden go beyond 150 tons; commonly they were 30, 50 or 70 tons only. Sturdy of build, they were navigated by sturdy seamen, crews of five, six or seven, save when the ship was outfitted for war, when the complement rose much higher.

In this article, to disclose a little cross section of the wealth of historical material, I have taken a single port—Philadelphia; and a single year—1777. There were eight vessels, from or bound to Philadelphia, brought in and condemned in the first six months of that year. Each has a story of interest, and a number of them disclose the variety of subterfuges resorted to for evading capture; sailing under false colors and faked papers; carrying foreign names and foreign masters; secreting incriminating docu-

ments or papers; and swearing to anything that might procure release. Here are the stories of these eight prizes, taken chronologically:

Brigantine *L'Actif*

A form of deception that has been mentioned was to provide a vessel with false papers, showing her as of foreign nationality. Possibly this had been done in the case of *L'Actif*, taken by H. M. S. *Maidstone*, on 12 January 1777. This brigantine, of 115 tons burden, carrying a crew of ten, was also known as *Le Hazard*, and had at one time gone under the name of *Nancy*. She had been built at Philadelphia, and the master stated he had received possession from David Beveridge at Philadelphia. The master himself belonged to that port. According to his evidence, the voyage was begun at Philadelphia, thence to Aux Cayes, in Saint Dominque, thence to Curaco, thence back to Aux Cayes, and thence returning to Philadelphia, the vessel being taken ten leagues off the Isle la Vache, just south of Hispaniola.

Another witness stated, however, that the voyage was Aux Cayes to Philadelphia and back, and that the master had been appointed at Aux Cayes. Further, *L'Actif* was stated to have been the property of Messrs. Amiel La Croix et Cie, of Aux Cayes. Considering the probabilities, it is likely that the brigantine was the actual property of Beveridge. Taking the master's evidence, the cargo belonged to Beveridge; taking that of another witness, it was the property of La Croix and 'a merchant whose Name he knows not residing in Philadelphia,' which probably was Beveridge.

L'Actif was extremely leaky on arrival at Jamaica. She was appraised at only £120, while her cargo, consisting of salt, molasses, sugar, taffia, brandy, dry goods, sail cloth and coffee, was considered worth £736.15.0.

Schooner *Fanny*

On 28 January 1777, H. M. S. *Porcupine* and a tender belonging to H. M. S. *Racehorse* captured the American schooner *Fanny*, at Grand Turk in the Turks Islands. Sailing from Baltimore, in December, 1776, for Curacao, she had arrived there on Christmas Day; thence she had sailed on 9 January 1777 for the Turks Islands where she was seized just as she was coming to anchor. The *Fanny* was owned by John Gourlay, John Duffield, and George and Andrew Kennedy, all of Philadelphia.

A schooner of 25 tons, she had been built near Watling Creek, Mary-

land, and carried a crew of five. From Baltimore she had taken a cargo of one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour and thirty kegs of biscuit, and this cargo had been disposed of at Curacao, where canvas and dry goods had been loaded. Brought to Jamaica very leaky in upper works and decks, vessel and cargo were appraised at only £293.7.1.

Schooner *Sainte Anne*

For confusing evidence, take the case of the schooner *Sainte Anne*, captured fourteen leagues off Cape François, one of the ports in the old French West Indian colony of Saint Dominique, by H. M. S. *Boreas*, on 14 March 1777.

The master of the *Sainte Anne*, one Blein Dumary, was described as a native of France, and made oath that he was appointed master by the owner of the vessel, a Monsieur Macé, merchant of Port au Prince. He had, said he, been given possession of the schooner at Port au Prince. By contrast, the second officer, Pierre Denye DuPommant, also a French subject, swore that possession was given Dumary by Macé, not in Port au Prince, but in Philadelphia.

According to Dumary, the voyage began at Port au Prince about five months before, with a cargo of wine, flour, candles, butter and dry goods intended for Aux Cayes. There the cargo was discharged and a new one laid in consisting of molasses and coffee, which were carried to St. Eustatia, where the coffee was sold, and thence to Martinique, where the molasses was disposed of. With the proceeds from both items, another cargo was laid in at Martinique. It consisted of three hundred and five barrels of flour, thirty barrels of rice, three hundred feet of board, and 'abt 120 hhd Packs.' This last cargo, according to Dumary, was intended for Port au Prince.

But M. DuPommant, the second officer, had a different tale to tell. The original cargo, taken on at Port au Prince, had consisted of molasses, tafia, and salt, and had been delivered at Philadelphia. And the cargo Dumary alleged was shipped at Martinique was, said M. DuPommant, 'of the Growth Produce and Manufacture of North America as he believes—the same was taken on board immediately from a Wharf at Philadelphia.' With master and mate telling conflicting stories, there is small wonder the *Sainte Anne*, a vessel of 40 tons and carrying a crew of seven, was condemned as lawful prize on 15 April, and, with cargo, was appraised as worth £1045.14.0.

Schooner *Farmer* and Sloop *LaJolie*

These two vessels were taken on 5 April 1777 by H. M. S. *Boreas*, near the Great Caicos Island, north of Hispaniola, and by the perfidy of the master and a seaman of the *Farmer*, both schooner and sloop were condemned.

The *Farmer*, of 35 tons and carrying a crew of five, was the property of Messrs. Sewell, Sudgrave and Spicer, all of Philadelphia, and had been built in that port. She had sailed from Philadelphia in February with a cargo of flour, tobacco, staves and shingles, which had been sold at Cape François in March. The return cargo for Philadelphia consisted of taffia, coffee and dry goods.

The sloop *LaJolie*, of 30 tons, had been loading near the *Farmer* at Cape François with molasses and six double-barreled muskets. She was stated to have been owned by Joseph Harmelin, of Marseilles and Cape François. On 3 April both vessels cleared the Cape, the *Farmer* for Philadelphia, and *LaJolie* for Dunkirk. Two days later the *Boreas* gobbled them in, and here is what the master of the *Farmer*, who suddenly claimed to be a British subject, told the Admiralty Court:

'The said Deponent saith he knows the said Sloop *LaJolie* and first saw her at Cape François in the Island of Hispaniola—and on the third day of April instant this Deponent last sailed from Hispaniola in the said Schooner *Farmer*, bound to the City of Philadelphia, and that at the same time the said Sloop *LaJolie* sailed from the same place in Company with the said Schooner, bound as this Deponent was told by Monsr. Harmelin when they were at Cape François to the City of Philadelphia, which Monsr. Harmelin sailed from Cape François in the said Sloop *LaJolie* and was on board her at the time of her capture—that after the capture of both the said Vessels by his Majesties Ship of War the *Boreas*, when the said Monsr. Harmelin & this Deponent were on board the said ship of War, he once or twice in conversation Desired this Deponent not to say anything, meaning as this Deponent conceives and verily believes, that he should not discover the real Destination of the said Sloop when she was taken.'

Quoth a seaman of the *Farmer* under oath:

'This Deponent saith he knows the said Sloop *LaJolie* and saw her in Philadelphia about three or four months ago, when she brought a cargo of Melases there—and that this Deponent first saw her at Philadelphia about eight months ago—that this Dep[onen]t last sailed from Cape François in the Island of Hispaniola about the third day of April instant,

in the said Schooner *Farmer*, bound to Philadelphia, and that the said Sloop *LaJolie* sailed from thence in Company with her, bound as this Deponent heard from one of the Persons on board her, who he believes was the Master of her, to Philadelphia also."

The *Farmer* and *LaJolie* were condemned 19 May 1777.

Continental Sloop *Hornet*

The earliest instance found in the records of an armed vessel commissioned and owned by the Continental Congress, is the *Hornet*, captured 27 April 1777 by H. M. S. *Porcupine*, in latitude $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north, longitude 70° west. She was a sloop of 100 tons, mounting ten carriage guns and four swivels, and carrying a complement of thirty-five men. The *Hornet* fought valiantly, the engagement lasting three-quarters of an hour, during which she fired upwards of fifty shot at the *Porcupine*.

The *Hornet's* commander, John Nicholson, described himself as 'a Native of Maryland [who had] for these seven years last past except when at Sea lived and resided in Kent County in that Province—ever was a subject of the King of Great Britain till within twelve or fourteen months—during which time he hath deemed himself and now does so, a subject of the United States of America.'

The first lieutenant was William Moran, who was a native of Ireland, but had been in North America for the past twenty years and was now a subject of the States of North America. His place of abode was Philadelphia, where his family lived. The gunner's mate, who could not sign his name, was Lewis Doyle, also an Irishman. He had been in America for six or seven years, residing principally in Charleston, South Carolina, but described himself as 'a subject of the King of Great Britain.' Possibly he had been pressed on board the *Hornet*.

The *Hornet*, according to the testimony had sailed from Philadelphia in February for Charleston, taking no cargo. At Charleston she had loaded twenty barrels of rice and twenty-six barrels of indigo, and sailed for Martinique, where the cargo was to be sold, and a return cargo of woolen clothing laid in. Upon her return from Martinique, she was to cruise against British vessels. The sloop was leaky, and, including cargo and stores, was appraised at £2443.12.6. She had been built at Bermuda.¹

¹ The *Hornet* was one of two vessels outfitted at Baltimore in December 1775 and January 1776 to join Commodore Hopkins's first Continental fleet. She was the property of William Stone, a native of Bermuda, who was her first captain in the Continental service. John Nicholson was not appointed to command her until the fall of 1776, and sailed from Philadelphia under orders from Robert Morris to put into Charleston for rice and indigo to be delivered to William Bingham, Continental agent at St. Pierre, Martinique. Nicholson and a number of his officers were sent to England and, on

Sloop *Fly*

The sloop *Fly*, of 30 tons, carrying a crew of five, was taken 15 May 1777 off Puerto Plata, Hispaniola, by a tender belonging to H. M. S. *Boreas*. The *Fly*, it would seem from the evidence, was probably a Philadelphia vessel, but had more recently sailed from Charleston, South Carolina, with a cargo of rice for St. Eustatia. Contrary winds had forced her to leeward, and she was captured while making for some port in Saint Dominique.

Schooner *Betsy*

The *Betsy*, a schooner of 20 tons, built in Philadelphia, was owned by John McNeal, her master, and George Goodin, Joseph Falkner and James Lockhart, reported also as Philadelphians. She was returning from a voyage to Cape François, and was captured off the Caicos by H. M. S. *Glasgow*, on 29 June 1777. Her cargo from Philadelphia had been board shingles and tar barrels. Her return cargo was molasses and taffia.

Of her crew of six, one was a Scotsman, three were English, one was Irish, and one was 'a Guernsey man.' Her owners were described in the libel as a Scotsman, Englishman, Irishman and American. The master stated that by her capture he had 'sustained a loss of his fourth part of the Vessell and Cargo which he computed at about £500.' The *Betsy* had cleared from Burlington, New Jersey, on 15 May 1777 her master making oath that 'he will exert his utmost skill to avoid all British ships of war and other Vessels in the service of the King of Great Britain or his subjects.'

As the old records disclose, he was one of thousands of skippers unable to keep that oath.

13 October 1777 committed to Forton Prison, Portsmouth. With him in Forton were Moran, Second Lieutenant Edward Leger, Sailing Master Robert Robinson, Lieutenant of Marines William Radford, and Surgeon James Brehon.



Captain Edward H. Adams's gundalow now under construction

Photograph by A. L. Belcher, East Kingston, New Hampshire. Bow and stern logs have been shaped and held in place by shores; the planking of the sides has been carried up nearly to deck level.



Wreck of gundalow *Fanny M.*, a few miles above Dover Bridge
on the Piscataqua River

*Photographs by Professor A. V. de Forest, 1925. The wreck
disappeared the following winter when the ice went out.*

The Gundalow Fanny M.¹

BY D. FOSTER TAYLOR

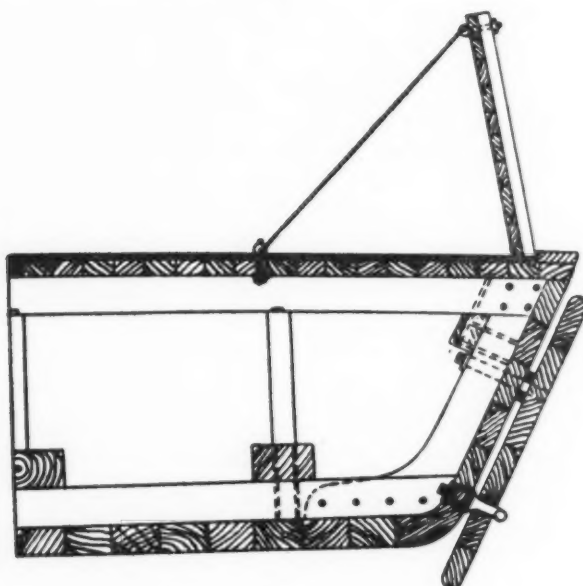
IN 1882 Captain Edward H. Adams modelled a gundalow which he later named for his wife, *Fanny M.* She was to have a carrying capacity of about sixty tons; 69 feet 10 inches length over-all; greatest beam, 19 feet; and depth amidships from the deck to the inside of the hull planking, 4 feet 5 inches. It was common practice for gundalows to be built with one foot more beam forward than aft. Captain Adams, however, increased this when designing the *Fanny M.* to 1½ feet.²

During the winter of 1882-1883 Captain Adams selected and cut the principal timbers for his vessel. This part of the job required a careful search over many square miles of woodland to locate trees having the natural shape necessary for knees and for the bow logs. The Captain had an eye for crooked stuff. He remembered the crooked branches of a tree as a police inspector remembers a crook's face. In his mind were catalogued the location of suitable timber for miles around. As far as I could learn he did not have to pay anything for timber taken beyond his domain. The heavy members of the frame, such as knees, floor timbers, clamps, and keelsons were usually of oak. The planking and corner pieces were spruce. Those of us who are used to working with power-driven tools would be overwhelmed by the volume of hand work required in building a vessel of this type. Every piece of lumber that went into her was selected in the forest for size and shape. The crooked stuff was worked by adze and broad-ax, and the logs for such pieces as the clamps, keelsons, floors, and deck timbers were taken by boat down-river to a saw-mill and

¹ The present article is the sequel to D. Foster Taylor, 'The Piscataqua River Gundalow,' *THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE*, II (1942), 127-139.

² The lines (Fig. 1) and sail plan (Fig. 2) reproduced here were carefully taken off the original construction model and compared with actual measurements made of her wreck by Professor Gordon Wilkes of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Information on the smaller details was obtained by several visits to Captain Adams's home. I was fortunate in obtaining several very excellent photographs of the *Fanny M.* taken by Professor Wilkes and by his colleague, Professor A. V. De Forest (Plate 30). An unfinished gundalow which Captain Adams has been building in recent years affords much valuable information about construction details (Plates 29, 31, 32).

cut to the required dimensions. All the trunnels were made by hand. Squared lengths of locust or oak were gripped firmly by one end in a vice. The other end, slightly tapered with a draw knife, received the tool which reduced it to a round peg. This device is really an outside reamer—very much like a large pencil sharpener—to which is attached two handles. It is used in the manner of a common pipe die-holder. The work of making hundreds of trunnels, and drilling by hand the deep $1\frac{1}{4}$ -inch holes for them, was a vast labor in itself.



Construction Section

Construction of the *Fanny M.* began on Captain Adams's farm in the spring of 1883; the launching took place three years later. Captain Adams built her almost single-handed, except for the assistance of an elderly man, the only experienced shipwright available. The 'help' asked off one day to pick apples, and, unfortunately, fell from a tree and broke his neck. Captain Adams completed the work alone.

The gundalow had no keel and was flat or nearly so on the bottom. The most difficult part of the work was in shaping the spoon-like bow, and forming the corner pieces. The bow timbers usually numbered ten or twelve logs, were about 6 inches thick and averaged 10 inches in width. Since 'Captain Ed' was compelled to use available material it was not possible to obtain each bow log in one length. This required filling in

with short pieces of the proper natural curvature, and bracing the whole together in position until the rest of the hull was far enough advanced to structurally support it. The corner pieces are to a gundalow what a keystone is to an arch. Not only did these two members, port and starboard, unite the floor and sides, but they gave shape to the whole craft. They were the largest pieces of timber in the hull and were formed by ax, adze, and draw knife from large flawless logs. When properly shaped inside and out they were put in place on blocking. Then the floor planks of spruce, 6 inches thick and averaging 10 inches wide were placed in position between them. The knees or frames, 6 x 8 inches, and the oak floor timbers also 6 x 8, and some 6 x 12 inches, were now placed in position and all fastened together by means of oak trunnels $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. In other words, the hull of the *Fanny M.* was not built up over moulds or frames, but rather the frames or knees, which shape the sides of the gundalow were made to fit a bow and the corner pieces. From this point on, the sides were given shape by planking over the upright portion of the knees. Their lower arms were long enough below the turn of the corner piece to run over, at least, two bottom planks. Usually the floor timbers were sawn on two sides only, and were so placed that they came alongside the arms of the knees as they extended over the floor planking, overlapping them, and were trunnelled both through the floor planks and through the knees.

There is one noteworthy feature in connection with corner pieces which should be mentioned here. Since all vessels accumulate water, and the gundalows more than most, pumping was often necessary. An old river adage says—'It's cheaper to pump than caulk.' At any rate the river boatman had an ace up his sleeve in the form of two drain holes through the corner pieces. When it was necessary to free a gundalow of water, her skipper put her over a mud bank or sand bar. The tide, of course, would eventually leave her high and dry. Then one of the crew would slosh around below until he had pulled the plugs. Shortly, the hull would be free of water and the plugs redriven. There is a tragic account, dated 8 September 1798, concerning a Joseph Young of Dover, 'who went aboard a loaded gondola at the Landing in order to watch her 'till high water, but being tired, he went into the Cuddy and there fell asleep 'till the tide came up and filled her, by which he was drowned.' It seems probable Young's job really was to redrive the corner plugs, and that his negligence enabled the water to trap him. Captain Adams likes to tell a story concerning corner plugs. Late one afternoon 'Captain Ed' put the *Fanny M.* over a mud flat to drain her bilges. His crew numbered two—both Frenchmen. This pair did not

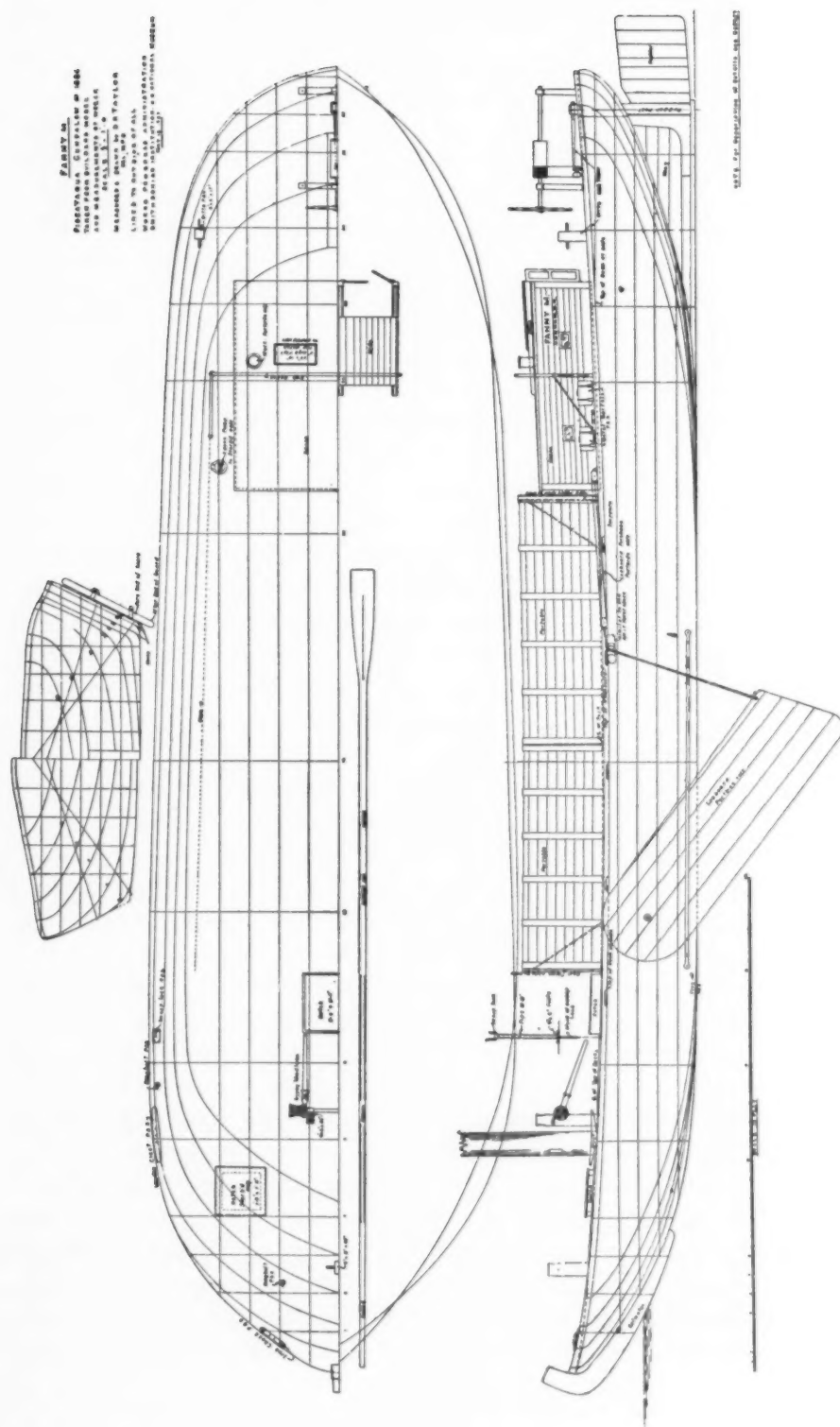


Figure 1. Lines, body plan and outboard profile of gundalow *Fanny M.*, 1886, Drawing produced by *Historic American Merchant Marine Survey*. Actual size 17 x 36 inches. U. S. National Museum photograph.

sleep in the cabin bunks but occupied two spring beds located below deck just forward of the cabin bulkhead. The Captain ordered the most reliable man to redrive the plugs when the water cleared, and turned in. Hours later he awoke, suddenly. It was pitch dark. 'Captain Ed' knew something was wrong. The *Fanny M.* had that dead solid feeling of a vessel hard aground. A host of possibilities reeled through his mind. He could hear not a sound except the heavy breathing of the men coming through a small opening in the bulkhead. He went to it—with growing suspicions. On a peg inside hung a coiled line. Lowering one end into the double darkness of the hold he found it wet. Finally, a lantern revealed the forms of the sleeping Frenchmen in the beds with the water up to the mattresses. An ordinary skipper might have given immediate voice to his wrath, but Captain Adams is not ordinary, so bided his time. The water rose higher covering the mattresses, but still the Frenchmen slept. The denouement came when a bit trickled into an open mouth. A violent commotion followed but suddenly ended as the occupants of the beds, in their fright, slid off into deeper water.

Most of the larger gundalows had three keelsons or heavy oak timbers, each approximately 8 x 10 inches, truñneled longitudinally over the floor timbers for nearly the full length of their hulls. The longest was placed on the centerline, and the others on a line of the half floors. The after portion of the vessel was built up in the same manner as the bow, except provision was made for a skeg to carry the lower bearing of the rudder-post. Like all the later gundalows the *Fanny M.*'s rudder was so constructed that a space of 12 inches, or thereabouts, was left between the shoulder of the rudder and the curving transom, through which its post projected. This was to allow the rudder some freedom of movement in a vertical direction in case it met with an obstruction.

The side planking of 4-inch spruce (usually numbering five planks above the corner piece) was then carried up to the proper height, and 4 x 12 inch oak clamps bound the upper portion of the sides together, and provided a secure foundation for the 5 x 7 inch oak deck beams which supported the deck of 3 x 6 inch pine or spruce planks, laid parallel with the centerline. The crown of deck amidships was 4 inches in 18½ feet. Some builders used waterways to which they fitted the deck planking, but in the *Fanny M.* Captain Adams brought his deck planking out over the edge of the hull. It will be noticed, from an examination of the deck plan, that the gundalow had a low rail, usually 6 inches in width and 4 inches in height, except in the waist, where the width increased to 9 or 10 inches, and the thickness reduced to 3 inches. This wide rail amidships was called

'the flats.' Except for the wider section amidships, the rail was of oak. Since oak is slippery when wet, the 'flats,' upon which the members of the crew stood when plying the sweeps or poles, were always of white pine. On the plain undecked gundalows, beams were thrown athwartship resting on the gunwales, and upon them wide planks were secured near the out-board ends, running fore and aft. This simple arrangement gave the boatmen space to stand while poling their craft. On the *Fanny M.* beginning on a line with the after edge of the hatch, and on each side of the vessel, there were five scupper holes through the 'flats' $1\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 inches, spaced on 6-foot centers.

The lee-board was built up of 3-inch oak plank, held together edgewise by means of long iron drift bolts. It measured nearly 5 feet wide and 16 feet 5 inches long. The board was secured to the hull, on the port side, by a 2-inch iron bolt, fastened through the planking and one of the knees. An iron collar and two large iron washers served as a bearing. The board was pivoted at a point about two feet three inches aft the forward edge and on its longitudinal centerline. Formed from 2-inch iron bar stock, with the ends offset and bent into eyes, the lee-board guard was fastened firmly by long 2-inch bolts through the corner piece and knees. The board was able to move up and down between the guard and the flat side of the hull, yet sufficiently supported so that the strain did not come entirely upon the pivot bolt. The upper edge of the lee-board was weighted by spiking on pieces of iron of sufficient weight to sink it. The manner of working the board was extremely simple. At the upper edge near the after end was a hole through which a stout rope was rove and eye-spliced. This led up and over an open sheave block on the side of the vessel near the deck to the double block of a luff tackle purchase. The fall lead aft to a convenient cleat. 'Captain Ed' mentioned an incident concerning a warped lee-board which had been damaged by striking a submerged rock. The board was removed but no easy means could be found to straighten it, so stoutly was it made. After all suggestions had proven impracticable, an old river captain suggested they lay it on a hard flat spot in the river and allow the loaded gundalow to settle upon it at low tide. The damage was so easily repaired in this way that no doubt existed thereafter as to the best method for straightening bent lee-boards.

One other feature connected with the hull must be mentioned. All gundalows had a massive oak timber like the stem-piece of any boat strongly fastened to their bows extending above the deck line and raking sharply aft. On the *Fanny M.* it measured, at the upper end, about 8 x 10 inches in section, curving down and around on the fore-and-aft center-

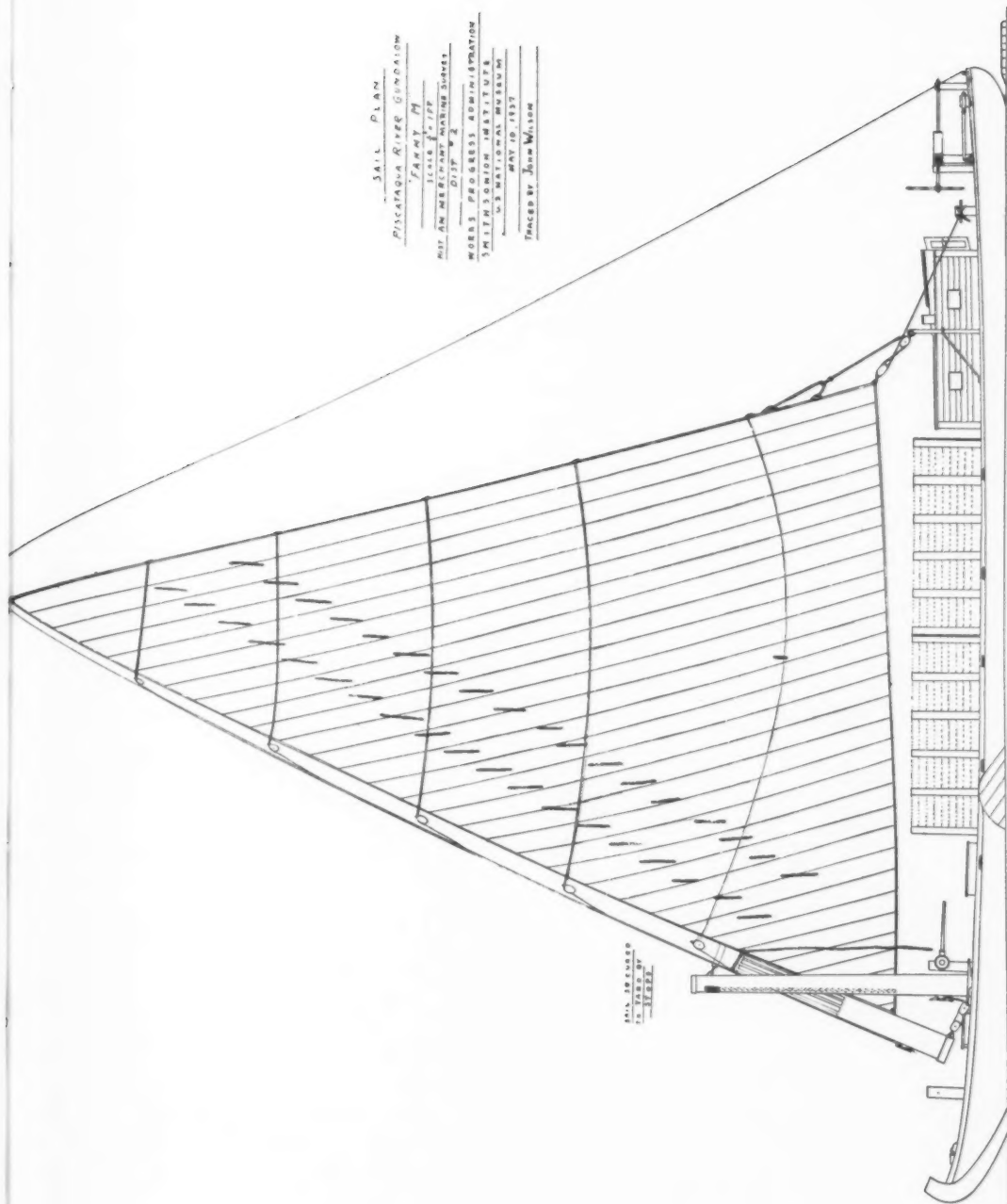


Figure 2. Sail plan of gundalow *Fanny M.*, 1886.

Drawing produced by Historic American Merchant Marine Survey. Actual size 17 x 96 inches. U. S. National Museum photograph.

line of the bow almost to the water-line. This was really a false stem and tapered off just before reaching the point where the curved bows met the flat floor. It was a great protection to the hull against striking submerged obstructions. The upper end of the stem-piece usually projected above the deck line about a foot or more, and in the case of the *Fanny M.* this timber was finished off and used as a cable-bit.

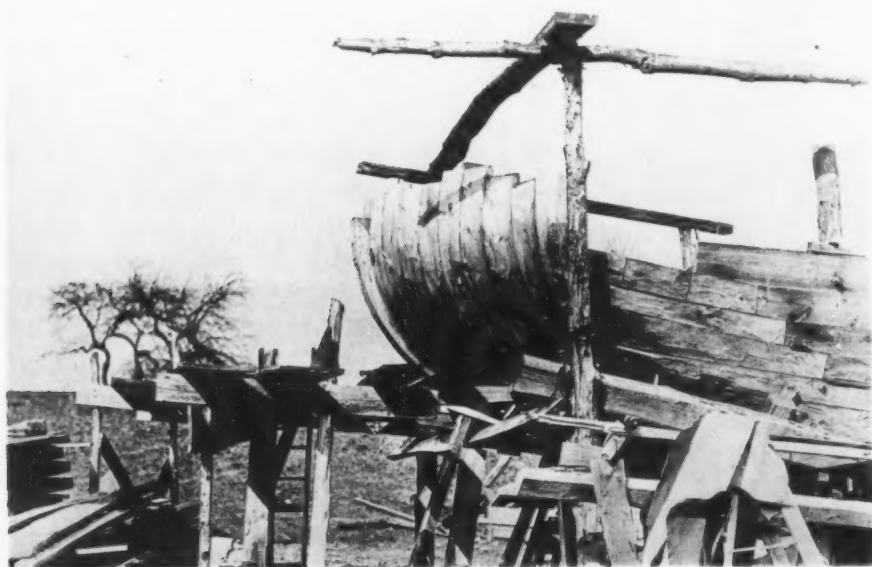
It has been stated that the early gundalows (prior to 1860) carried their cargoes in an open space between a short fore deck and a small house or cuddy, aft. The later types were, like the *Fanny M.*, completely decked, and upon it all cargo was carried. The cargo space extended abaft the hatch, to the house, a distance of 25 feet 6 inches. This portion of the deck was covered with a thick coat of tar and sand. Captain Adams's model in the Smithsonian shows two hatches, though the *Fanny M.* when built, had only one, like all other vessels of this type.

Beginning at the bow (port and starboard) she had two substantial iron chocks, principally used for the lead of her anchor chains. Directly abaft each of the chocks at a distance of about three feet was an iron ringbolt. On the fore-and-aft centerline 5 feet 5 inches abaft the stem, was a stout oak riding bitt 6 x 8 inches rising 27 inches above the deck. About two feet four inches aft the riding bitt but on the starboard deck was a small square hatch with an opening of 1 foot 11 inches. The purpose of this hatch was to permit access to the forehold when or if the main hatch was covered with cargo. This feature was not general with the gundalows, but one of Captain Adams's own ideas. The stump, windlass and main hatch followed in the order given and need practically no explanation as reference to the drawing will give all their locations and dimensions. The stump mast will be more fully described later when we consider rigging. The lower ends of the windlass timbers were carried down through the deck and secured to the floor timbers of the hull. The upper ends were finished off and were used for riding bitts. The main hatch opening was 3 feet 5 inches, and below it were stowed a wheelbarrow, grindstone, assorted gear and tools. Perhaps the most unusual fittings on the *Fanny M.*'s deck were the two large wooden cleats (port and starboard) located close to the low rail in the bows. Each cleat measured 3 feet in length. These over-sized cleats were probably used in warping and kedging. However, all gundalows used the cleats on the fore quarters, and the after quarter bitts when tying up to wharves or vessels, but it is probable the former were not so large as those found on the *Fanny M.* Abaft the cleats at the rail (port and starboard) will be noticed a ringbolt and the socket plate for the sweep lock.



Captain Edward H. Adams at work on the stern
of the gundalow now building

Photograph by A. L. Belcher, East Kingston, New Hampshire.



Captain Edward H. Adams's gundalow under construction

Photograph by A. L. Belcher, East Kingston, New Hampshire, showing the rough-hewn bow logs shored into position and the side planking being put in place. Note wedge forcing upper plank in place while trunnelling.



Interior view of hull looking toward bow on port side, showing knees and transverse bow timbers; also foundation of windlass bits. Longitudinal timber in upper left of photograph is held by iron lag screws, which are the only metal fastening used in the hull.



Interior amidships, looking forward from port side.



Interior of port side looking aft. Note bag covering propeller-shaft port. Captain Edward H. Adams's gundalow under construction

Flashlight photographs by D. Foster Taylor, 1936.

The house was 11 feet long by 10 feet 9 inches wide and stood above the deck 3 feet 1 inch. In common with other gundalows, its outside sheathing was matchboards with the beading horizontal, while the inside sheathing was put on vertically. Unlike her aristocratic sisters, engaged in deep sea commerce, the gundalow's captain and crew lived together in the cabin. In no instance have I found a record of a man and his family living on board as they invariably do on the river and canal boats in other lands. In surroundings never graced by the orderly influence of a feminine presence, living conditions were usually bad. Captain Adams was very proud of the *Fanny M.*'s accommodations. The cabin contained four bunks, two on each side. Behind them were lockers for the personal effects of each occupant. The interior was painted a light brown and grained. But above all, the floor was covered with linoleum. Another unusual feature of the house was the companionway. Upon entering the companionway at the deck the steps descended and turned to the starboard side in a staircase, the for'd side of which formed the after end of the two bunks on the port side.

The Captain declared that one of the mistakes almost always made by the builders of gundalows was to locate the smoke pipe from the galley stove in the way of the sheet. The stove performed the double function of heating and cooking. When located in the fore part of the cabin against the bulkhead its chimney passed through the roof directly in the way of the sheet block which traversed the long iron horse over the top of the house. This arrangement caused no end of trouble. The smoke pipe always came off second best in its frequent brushes with the 8-inch traveller block. It drew poorly, and filled the interior of the house with smoke and soot. Of course, if the wind was 'not right,' the usually bad conditions were made worse, and a half-suffocated crew found relief only by gaining the deck. In the *Fanny M.* 'Captain Ed' located his stove in the after end nearly amidships, under a small hatch 12 x 24 inches. This hatch had a perfectly flat roof. The smoke pipe came up through the cabin roof one foot in from the port side and well aft, clear of everything. The small hatch not only made the interior lighter when removed, but allowed the fumes from cooking to escape, and generally improve the ventilation.

Captain Adams is ingenious. No further proof need be offered than a brief description of the table he made especially for the *Fanny M.*'s cabin. It was built of cherry, on slides running underneath the deck through the forward bulkhead. Its chief recommendation was the ease with which the remains of the last meal could be put from sight, dishes and all. Above the sliding table was a rack for dishes and directly opposite against the

after bulkhead of the cabin was a mirror and wash basin. The *Fanny M.*'s model in the Smithsonian Watercraft Collection shows only one window through each side of the house, but there were actually two (8 x 5 inches) openings on slides, moving fore and aft.

The companionway through the after end of the cabin trunk was 2 feet 6 inches wide, and was covered by a slide, the opening being enclosed by two hinged doors. Aft the house but near the rail (port and starboard) were two quarter bitts 6 x 8 inches and 17 inches high, with an iron pin fore and aft. Aft the cabin trunk was the wheel, of malleable iron with wooden handles, keyed to the axle which turned in iron blocks bolted to two inverted V's made of 1/2-inch iron strapping 4 inches wide. The wheel extended a foot or so forward of the forward bearing, allowing enough room for a man to stand between them. An oak tiller was fitted to the head of the rudder-post by iron strapping and extended forward between the iron standards. From the tiller, a rope led through single sheave blocks in eye-bolts located near each rail, and thence over a wooden drum on the axle. It appears no box enclosed the steering mechanism. Some river captains preferred the old 'shin breaker' type of tiller, and Captain Adams recalls one of his contemporaries who nailed a seat on top of his vessel's rudder-post, where he sat and spat, while steering.

It is quite probable that under certain conditions the gundalows had an excessive amount of weather-helm. On the wind the helmsman frequently had difficulty in handling the wheel when it blew hard. He usually kept a short line ready, one end made fast near the weather rail with one or two turns around the end of the oak tiller and held the slack end in his hand. By pulling a little on the rope, he could easily snub the tiller and relieve the wheel of nearly all the strain; also by slacking off, the wheel was able to assume full control without a moment's delay.

On the *Fanny M.* four small water casks were carried, two stowed on each side of the house. On the starboard side just abaft the fore edge of the cabin trunk, was located a pump of the diaphragm type. When iron pumps first appeared, many of the river captains continued to carry the old wooden log pump 'just to be safe.'

The rigging of the gundalow was its most noticeable feature. The lateen sail was not only picturesque but was a strange sight to nineteenth-century New England. On the *Fanny M.* it was supported by a spruce yard 68 feet long, 17 inches in diameter at the butt, 15 inches in diameter at the point of suspension, and tapered to a diameter of 6 inches. It in turn was supported by the stump or short oak mast, 21 feet length over-all,

13 inches in diameter at the deck, above which it extended about 17 feet, to a diameter of 12 inches. The stump turned in a bearing at its foot like the mast of a New Haven sharpie, and note should be made of the fact that it was not located in a position perpendicular to the water-line. The stump raked forward slightly and was canted to port a distance equal to about one-half its diameter. The accompanying sail plan will show the yard carried on the starboard side of the stump, and it was thought that by raking the latter forward and to port 'the long spar would balance better.' About ten inches below the upper end of the stump an iron sheave 10 inches in diameter with a 3-inch face, was set into it. At its upper extremity, the stump was reinforced by an iron band, 3 inches wide and $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in thickness; and about a foot above the deck on the fore side was located a large wooden cleat, to which was belayed the halyard which controlled the upright position of the yard. Somewhat above the cleat, but on the port side, was a stout iron spike whose usefulness will soon be made clear. One other detail concerning the stump must be mentioned—at the place of contact between it and the yard, either strips of iron, or pieces of boiler plate were spiked to prevent wear and damage. Of course, the yard was protected in a similar manner. The dimensions for this spar having been given, it remains to give details of its iron fittings. About fifteen and a half feet above the butt, or at a point where the yard balanced, was fitted a split iron band, with lugs, 4 inches wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness. The weight of the large stick was supported by a chain shackled to this iron band. The chain then passed over the sheave set in the stump and ran down the opposite or port side, where one of its links hooked on the spike. The portion of the chain that ran over the sheave was forged from $\frac{7}{8}$ -inch bar stock, but below it, the links became smaller and lighter. The butt or lower end of the yard was also provided with a split iron band with lugs, to which was shackled a triple sheave 9-inch block. This block worked with a double sheave becket block shackled to a ringbolt on the deck forward of the stump, and controlled the upright position of the yard. When it became necessary to lower the yard to pass under a bridge, the running end of this halyard was cast off its cleat on the fore side of the stump, and the yard tipped down by hauling on a 'tipping line' made fast to its upper extremity. While sailing, the lower end of the yard was always kept close in to the deck and never allowed to extend over the edge of the rail. If the yard was not in balance, iron weights were spiked on the butt where needed. Spaced at intervals, shown on the drawing, were ten 6-inch brail blocks fastened to the yard on opposite sides, in pairs, by means of iron staples.

The sail was a triangular piece of cotton duck with an area of about one thousand square feet secured to the yard by stops. On the *Fanny M.* and most gundalows of this period it had two rows of reef points and five brail lines which passed through cringles in the leech. Where the brails met on the fore side of the yard, they were formed by a bowline knot into a single line which ran down to a cleat on the yard. A detail connected with the lowest brail is not shown on the model of the *Fanny M.* in the Watercraft Collection. Somewhere along the line of the lower brail rope, about midway of the sail, there was a thimble. Through it passed a short line, knotted on each side of the sail. This short line ended in thimble eye-splices on either side through which the lower brail itself ran. The object of all this was to prevent the lowest brail line from sagging excessively and fouling. Still lower down the yard, within reach of a man standing on the hatch or deck, was a short line made fast to it, for the purpose of tying up the larger folds of the foot of the sail, which the brail lines did not secure.

The operation of brailing the sail of a gundalow was easily accomplished by first putting the vessel into the wind, or when not convenient, to slack the sheet, accomplishing the same result, and then hauling on the line to the uppermost brail, then the next lower and so on until the baggy foot was secured by the line previously mentioned, attached to the lower end of the yard for that purpose. Brailing up the sail was necessary in squalls, and when tipping the yard completely down to pass under bridges.

The sheet shackled into a ring, which ran free, on a short bridle eye-spliced into two cringles in the lower part of the leech, just above the clew. This bridle was covered with rawhide stretched smoothly around it. From the ring the sheet led aft over an 8-inch single sheave block running free on the long horse over the cabin trunk; then forward, over and through another 8-inch single block shackled into a cringle in the clew, formed by the leech and the foot; and then to one of two quarter cleats on either side of the deck, well aft. The horse was constructed of 2-inch iron bar stock bolted to the deck and extending up and clear over the cabin trunk to the deck on the opposite side. Just below the horizontal portion of the horse were two iron brackets (one port, and starboard) extending, at an angle, forward and down to the deck, where they were securely bolted; these braced the horse.

The gundalow's cargo frequently consisted of coal or sand piled high on the deck by means of 'side boards,' measuring about five feet high and fifteen feet long. Generally there were two boards for each side. They

were built of 1-inch rough stock cleated on the out board side like a barn door; and held in position by iron rods through eyebolts near the deck centerline, hooked in similar eyes located near the upper edge of the boards. The lower edge of the side boards were firmly held against the inboard edge of the 'flats' by the weight and outward pressure of the cargo. When properly placed they inclined inboard. The mention of high deck loads recalls the method these old timers employed to overcome the difficulty thus occasioned in using the sweeps. The spruce sweeps were 40 feet long and squared where they rested in the sweep lock. This sweep lock was a U-shaped hand forging with a long round iron shank or rod projecting from its base to fit into the sockets plates in the deck. A high deck load obviously interfered with the normal operation of the sweeps. By sliding lengths of pipe over the long lock shank, it was possible to raise its height sufficiently to manage the oar while standing on the load itself. The long poles carried by every gundalow were most frequently used to throw the head around by pushing against the river bank. When not in use, the poles and sweeps were slung in rope loops over the side, or laid on the 'flats.' The expression 'flat the oars' will be readily understood.

The ground tackle varied greatly, of course. The *Fanny M.*'s equipment may be taken as typical. She carried one iron anchor of the patent variety, weighing approximately two hundred pounds, and 140 feet of chain weighing 500 pounds.

Gundalows were painted with whatever color was most available and frequently none was to be had, for many seldom saw paint of any description. It was almost a waste of time and money to paint their bottoms. Frequent groundings on mud banks and sand bars removed, almost immediately, every vestige of paint. If any one color was more in evidence than another, it is that resulting from a mixture of white lead and lampblack, probably a dark shade of battleship gray. If the farmer gundalow owner had barn paint on hand, it was more than likely his craft received a coat of this dark red preservative. In most cases the spars and ironwork were painted the same color as the hull, though Captain Adams recalls others of a more fastidious nature who painted the ironwork black, and scraped and oiled the stump and yard.

There is one other matter which should be recorded here, if only briefly mentioned. It concerns the use of engines in gundalows for propulsion. The internal combustion engine came into practical use too late to be adopted by gundalows. A few did use steam engines, though it does not appear this practice became popular. According to Captain Adams, the *Fanny M.* was the only gundalow that carried a gasoline en-

gine. In her last days he installed a converted automobile engine, though the sails were not removed.

The account of the *Fanny M.* would not be complete without recording the story of Captain Adams and his fog-horn. When the *Fanny M.* neared Great Bay, the Captain often threw over the anchor and rowed across to Adams Point for a night at home. But every now and then fog would settle over the river and the skipper would have trouble finding his way to Adams Point. Then, invariably, the automatic fog-horn would begin to bellow. The Captain would soon find his way to shore, tie up his skiff and head across the fields, home. But he would never neglect paying respects to his faithful cow. Whenever fog rolled over Great Bay this particular cow always went to the water's edge and there set up a regular series of blasts that rivalled modern power-driven fog-horns.

The gundalow has gone these many years. The men who built and worked them have all but disappeared. Captain Adams remains, the sole survivor of a hardy, self-reliant clan of rivermen whose enterprise and perseverance should be recognized as an important part in the development of industrial New England.



The Steamboat Pocahontas, 1893-1939

Typical East Coast Side-Wheeler of the 1890's

BY ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN

The Mariners' Museum

IN presenting the following sketch of the James River steamboat *Pocahontas* (No. 150628) the author entertains no illusions concerning the importance of this particular vessel in relation to the American transportation scene. Certainly larger and more luxurious craft plied every bay, sound, and river of the Atlantic Seaboard and there were still others who might have legitimate claims to fame resting on the fact that their construction showed the incorporation of radical improvements and innovations.¹ The *Pocahontas* is offered, therefore, not as a specific craft, but as one in which the careers of countless American steamboats are typified.

Among other qualities, the little vessel possessed the following which would entitle her to rate as representative of this formerly large and ubiquitous class of American vessel: she was of average size; was equipped with typical propulsion machinery and made good speed; was economical and flexible in operation being suited to both short and long runs; was maneuverable in congested waters; served several sets of owners throughout her career and ran efficiently over several routes.² Although her interior fittings were gaudy and would be condemned by present dictates of good taste, she was, like other steamboats of her day, fitted up 'in style.'

It might also be mentioned that in grounding several times and in once being badly burned and subsequently rebuilt she epitomized the misfortunes to which her class was prone. Finally, compared to the average twenty-year expectancy of ocean steamer types, her life was long. In fact, the *Pocahontas* was so typical that her appearance was virtually unheralded and in retrospect the only exceptional thing concerning her seems to have been the fact that she retained the same name throughout her long career.

¹ As for example the excursion steamboat *Jamestown* built at Newport News in 1906 with the latest fireproofing materials, as a result of the holocaust of the *General Slocum* in New York Harbor on 15 June 1904.

² This would debar the well-known Fall River Line boats, the largest of their type in America, which were for this reason only suitable for their designed service.

Even had she been outstanding in any way, there were other events to captivate the marine-minded public of the country in the year that she came out. The battleship *Indiana* had been launched at Cramp's on 28 February 1893; New York Harbor witnessed its famous naval review on 27 April; and the famous Fall River steamboat *Priscilla*, then the world's largest side-wheeler, received her baptism on 10 August. Unlike the late New York World's Fair, the Columbian Exposition at Chicago was loyally supported by maritime interests and in addition to their displays, there was the whale-back excursion steamer *Christopher Columbus*, another record breaker for size, all of which were well covered in the illustrated magazines of the period. That fall the first Herreshoff America's Cup defender *Vigilant*, turned back the British *Valkyrie II*.

The little *Pochantas*, hopelessly outclassed, rated a thumbnail sketch in Samuel Ward Stanton's *Seaboard Magazine*,³ but as is to be expected the fullest contemporary description of her is contained in the not unprejudiced passengers' pamphlet guide gotten out by her owners, whose natural bias lay in the fact that they had to make money out of the boat.

The following is quoted from *Afloat on the James*, an eighty-four-page illustrated pamphlet which in 1895 sold for a quarter:⁴

THE PALACE STEAMER POCAHONTAS—No steam vessel so entirely suited to first-class travel in points of elegance, speed, safety and comfort in all weathers, as the *Pocahontas*, has ever before been seen in southern waters.

The *Pocahontas* was built at Wilmington, Del., and embodies many new and artistic features. She cost \$150,000. The hull is of steel, length over all 204 ft., breadth of beam 57 ft., depth of hold 10 ft. Speed twenty miles per hour.

Upon the main deck in addition to the freight and baggage space forwards, are the social hall and separate parlor saloons for lady passengers and servants respectively. The purser's office and mail agent's room are also upon this deck. The large dining-room below is furnished in exquisite taste, and the menu equals in quality and variety that of the best hotels.

The promenade deck is open fore and aft, the enclosed portion forming large elegantly furnished saloons finished in ivory and gold, to which is added during the winter season a roomy sun parlor covering a portion of the forward deck and giving a protective outlook upon either side and in front. A range of staterooms, large and richly furnished, extends upon either side. Private card-rooms, suggestive of the cozy comfort in a palace car smoking compartment,⁵ are also a part of the conveniences which will win the praise of many travelers. Upon either side of the grand stairway are pretty semi-circular private parlors draped with silk curtains.

³ 27 April 1893.

⁴ *Afloat on the James . . . The Palace Steamer Pocahontas* (New York: The Giles Co. for the Virginia Navigation Co., 1895), pp. 10-12.

⁵ It should be noted that the older form of transportation, the steamboat, here borrows from the newer and therefore more spectacular luxuries of the Pullman car. A modern analogy might be found in the fact that the comfortable new railroad coaches are said to be equipped with 'bus' seats.

The central feature of the steamer is the large and costly electric orchestrion, upon which the choicest selections of popular composers are performed during the trip, with the excellence and effect of a band of thirty pieces.

The motive machinery of the steamer is of the highest class, and she is heated throughout with steam and lighted by electricity.⁶

The hurricane deck is open to passengers, where plenty of seating room is provided. An electric search light apparatus crowns the pilot house.

Both hull and machinery of the *Pocahontas* were constructed by the Harlan and Hollingsworth Company, who, as builders of a large number of vessels of this type, would entitle their product to score again in point of being a typical specimen. The builders had celebrated their semi-centennial only a few years before. Back in 1844 they had built the *Bangor*, America's first iron hulled ocean steamer, and they had specialized in metal hull construction ever since that time.

The general dimensions of the *Pocahontas* have been given in the account quoted above. Her builder's records give: 195 feet, length between perpendiculars; 203 feet 6 inches, length over-all; 11 feet, depth at side. The *Register* lists her as 814 gross tons and 541 net requiring a complement of twenty-seven men.

She was powered with a typical beam engine with single cylinder of 46 inches diameter by 10-foot stroke of piston which actuated, at 750 indicated horse power, feathering paddle-wheels 22 feet 6 inches in diameter by 8 feet 6 inches face of buckets. In accordance with the prevalent trend her paddle boxes were set in flush with the side of the hull over the guards and she therefore lacked the fan decoration of earlier side-wheelers. Two Scotch boilers were coal-fired.

Unfortunately her lines have not been preserved but a good idea of her appearance may be gained from the contemporary deck plans (Plate 36) and outboard profile drawings (Plate 35) reproduced with this article.⁷ These ink drawings were executed with consummate artistry as well as mechanical perfection and are beautifully hand water-colored, representing a considerable departure from the typical blueprint of today. Similar drawings of Harlan and Hollingsworth vessels and machinery are preserved in four large portfolios at The Mariners' Museum, Newport, News, by whose courtesy those of the *Pocahontas* are reproduced.

⁶ According to Roger W. McAdam, *The Old Fall River Line* (Brattleboro, Vermont, 1937), p. 58, the Fall River steamboat *Pilgrim* built in 1883 only ten years before the *Pocahontas* was the first vessel in the world designed to have electricity as the sole means of illumination.

⁷ Signed 'G. Cornbrooks, Fecit.' The originals measure 22 inches x 29½ inches and 26½ inches x 28 inches.

The *Pocahontas* slipped into the waters of the Delaware on 25 April 1893 and was completed and turned over to her owners, the Virginia Navigation Company, a few months later when she entered service commanded by Captain C. C. Graves. This company, although only officially chartered on 9 May 1893, was actually an uninterrupted continuation of the Virginia Steamboat Company from which it had been reorganized.

Although in point of traffic volume the importance of the James River could hardly compare with either the Hudson or Delaware, nevertheless the James artery had been an important one and had seen many steam vessels come and go since the trail had been blazed by the little steamboat *Eagle* back in 1815. One of the best-known ante-bellum James River boats was the *Glen Cove*, imported from Long Island Sound, which possessed the dubious distinction of floating the first steam calliope.⁸ The *Pocahontas*' 'costly orchestrion' was the logical successor to this even as is today the modern 'juke-box' encountered on probably ninety-nine per cent of all commissioned excursion boats.

Latterly the Virginia Steamboat Company had been operating on tri-weekly day service their iron hull *Ariel*⁹ built in 1858, likewise by Harlan and Hollingsworth and in service on the one hundred twenty-five-mile James River route since 1878. This thirty-five-year-old boat was almost worn out in 1893 and the *Pocahontas* was expressly built to replace her.

The Virginia Navigation Company's schedule called for departures down-river from Richmond on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 7 A.M. with arrival at Norfolk the same days at 5:30 P.M. During the summer months evening excursions were scheduled with the vessel returning up-river on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The fare was \$1.50 one way and \$2.50 round trip, with second class passage (for colored passengers) at \$1.00. About a dozen landings were made both ways including City Point, Claremont, Jamestown, Scotland, Hog Island (Homewood), Fergussons, Newport News, and Old Point Comfort. An interesting account of a typical voyage made by Editor Samuel Ward Stanton in the *Ariel*, the year before the *Pocahontas* came out, appeared in his magazine¹⁰ and the 'glories' of the trip were well set forth in the previously men-

⁸ R. A. Fletcher, *Steamships and their Story* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1910), pp. 50-51.

⁹ Iron hull side-wheel steamboat *Ariel*, built at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1858 for Philadelphia Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad Company. 493 gross tons. 180.9 length; 29.0 beam; 8.7 depth. Vertical beam engine, 40 inches x 9 feet, originally in steamboat *W. Whillden* (1845). Brought to the James River to replace the *John Sylvester* in 1878. Was in turn replaced by the *Pocahontas* in 1893 and retained by the Virginia Navigation Company as spare boat until scrapped in 1902.

¹⁰ S. W. S., 'The James River. A Trip on this Historic Steam . . . ' *Seaboard* (New York, May, 1892), pp. 475-477.

tioned Company handbook which presented the following juicy sentiment in its final paragraph:¹¹

In conclusion it is earnestly hoped that the traveler over the James River route who has, by the aid of these pages, learned something of the storied past, the busy present and roseate future of this fruitful region, and its historic river, will feel so well repaid for the tour he has undertaken that it will lead him to commend its thronging attractions to many others who as yet only know of its charms 'dimly as seen or heard from afar.'

The career of any river boat might be considered uneventful and monotonous. The *Pocahontas* quietly and efficiently took over the place to which she had been assigned in the transportation scheme and as time passed became familiar to and beloved by a wider circle of travellers and settlers of the banks of the James. In April 1897, four years after she had been built, she came in for some extensive repairs at the plant of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company and had her funnel raised considerably in the interests of providing better draft for the boilers.

The one major catastrophe of her career occurred on the night of 30 April 1904. Fortunately she had completed her day's run and she was moored with a skeleton crew aboard to her dock at Rocketts below Richmond when at 9 P.M. a watchman discovered her to be on fire. The Richmond Fire Department was called out to fight its first shipboard fire. There was no stopping it, however, for the ginger-bread decorations and wicker furniture 'burned like tinder' and made a 'striking picture' according to the inspired news article appearing the next morning, which went on to observe that,¹²

Hardly is there a person in the city limits who has not partaken of her pleasure and comforts. . . . Her charred and twisted ruins are in pathetic and striking contrast to the life and light and beauty in which the steamer has so many times been seen on moonlight excursions and other festive occasions.

By 11 P.M. the fire was not out, but by this time enough water had been pumped into her hull to sink her to the river bottom leaving only the remains of her upper deck above water. Destruction was first thought to have been total, but when the charred ruins cooled and could be surveyed it was found that the steel hull was still sound as was her beam engine and it was decided to rebuild her. In the meanwhile her owners were able to charter the *Old Point Comfort*, a spare side-wheeler of the New

¹¹ *Afloat on the James*, p. 81.

¹² *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 1 May 1904, pp. 1, 3.

York, Pennsylvania & Norfolk Railroad, and service went on without interruption.¹³

The *Pocahontas* was pumped out and raised by the Baxter Wrecking Company of New York and was then towed down the James, up the Chesapeake, through the Delaware and Chesapeake canal and around to Chester, Pennsylvania. There she was rebuilt according to her original plans by the Delaware River Shipbuilding Company.

She was back in commission the year following and when the Old Dominion Line expanded its holdings in 1906 to take in the Virginia Navigation Company, the *Pocahontas* was absorbed into the Old Dominion fleet. Her service remained the same, tri-weekly daylight sailings up and down the James.

In the years which followed only one dereliction might be reported. On a full-moon night in late August 1911 with a party of excursionists aboard, members of the Richmond Randolph Street Baptist Church, the *Pocahontas* ran on a sand bar at Dutch Gap and had to wait eight hours for the tide to float her. According to a contemporary account,¹⁴

The excursionists were required to spend the night aboard and their discomfort was made complete by a heavy rain that lasted nearly through the night.

The later career of the *Pocahontas* may be briefly told. On 29 November 1919, the boat then being over twenty-five years old, the Old Dominion Line abandoned several of its feeder services in the Hampton Roads area including the James River Day Line and put up some of its smaller side-wheelers for sale. The *Pocahontas*, together with the 1899-built *Mobjack* and the 1901-built *Smithfield* (ex-*Hampton*), was purchased on 19 April 1920 by the Keansburg [New Jersey] Steamboat Company, Inc., and transferred her registry to Perth Amboy, New Jersey.

For another fifteen years the old *Pocahontas*, loaded with commuters, plied across lower New York Bay between Keansburg and the Battery on Manhattan until finally too venerable for further use even as a spare boat, she was allowed to rest on the mud at Keyport. She was dismantled by ship-breakers for her metal in November 1939¹⁵ thus bringing to a close a typical career of a steamboat, once an institution as typically American as baseball or apple-pie.

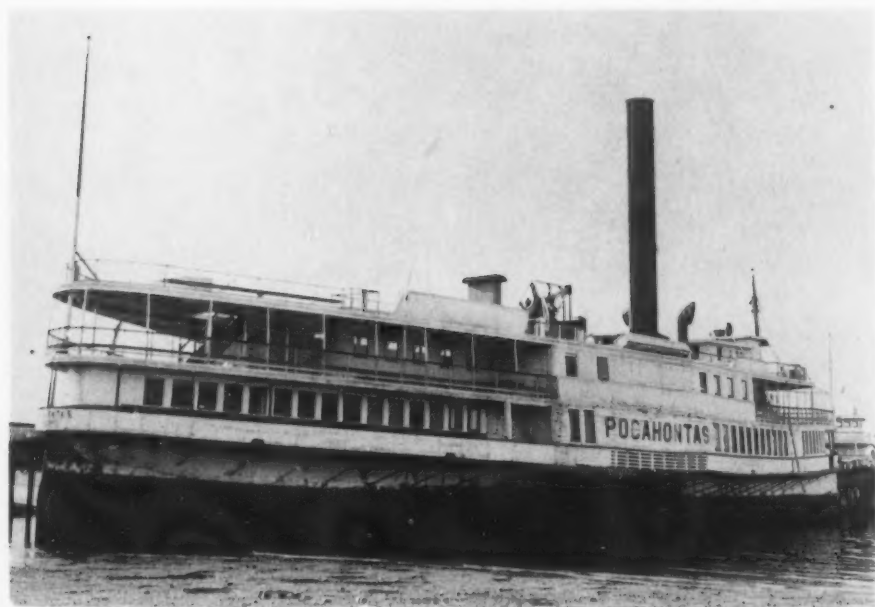
¹³ Ibid., 3 May 1904, p. 12.

¹⁴ Newport News Daily Press, 1 September 1911.

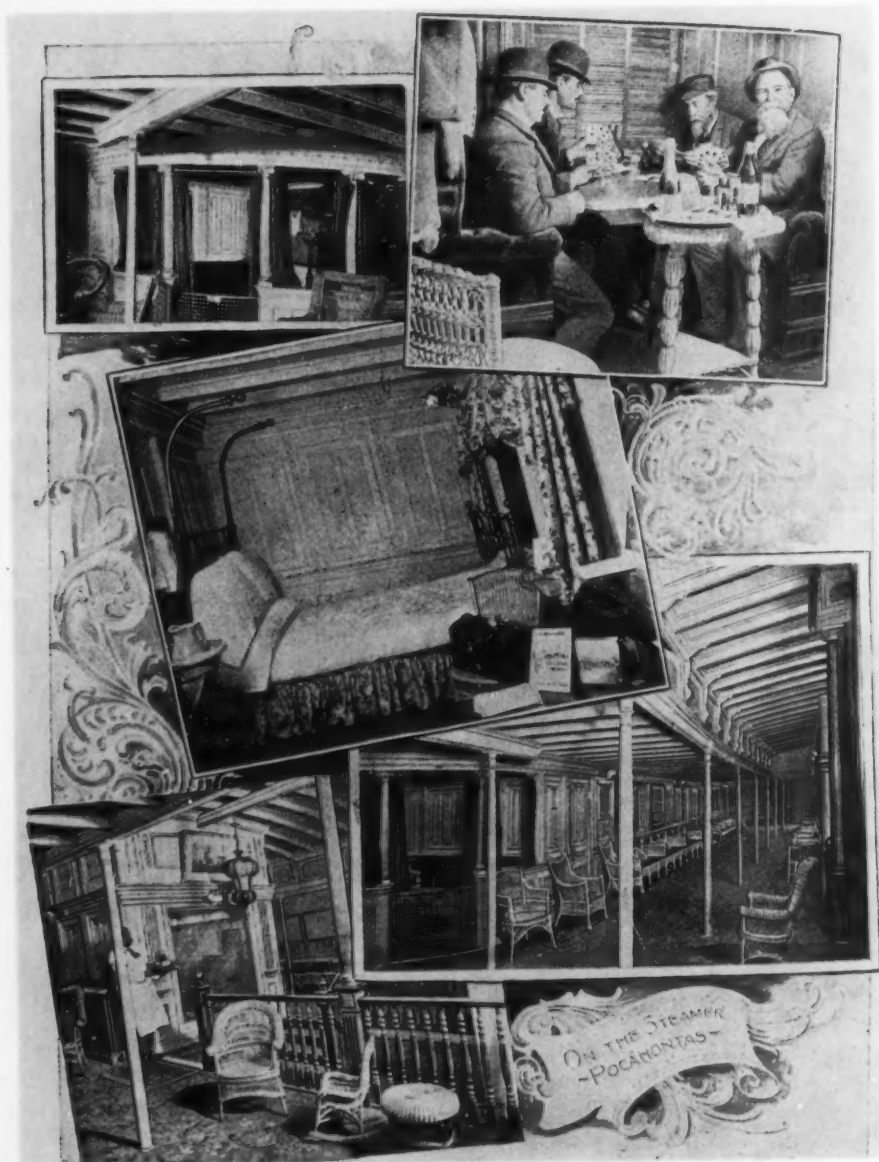
¹⁵ Bulletin of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation IV, No. 6 (December, 1939).



The *Pocahontas* in the James below Richmond in the nineties
Photograph by Cooke, Richmond.

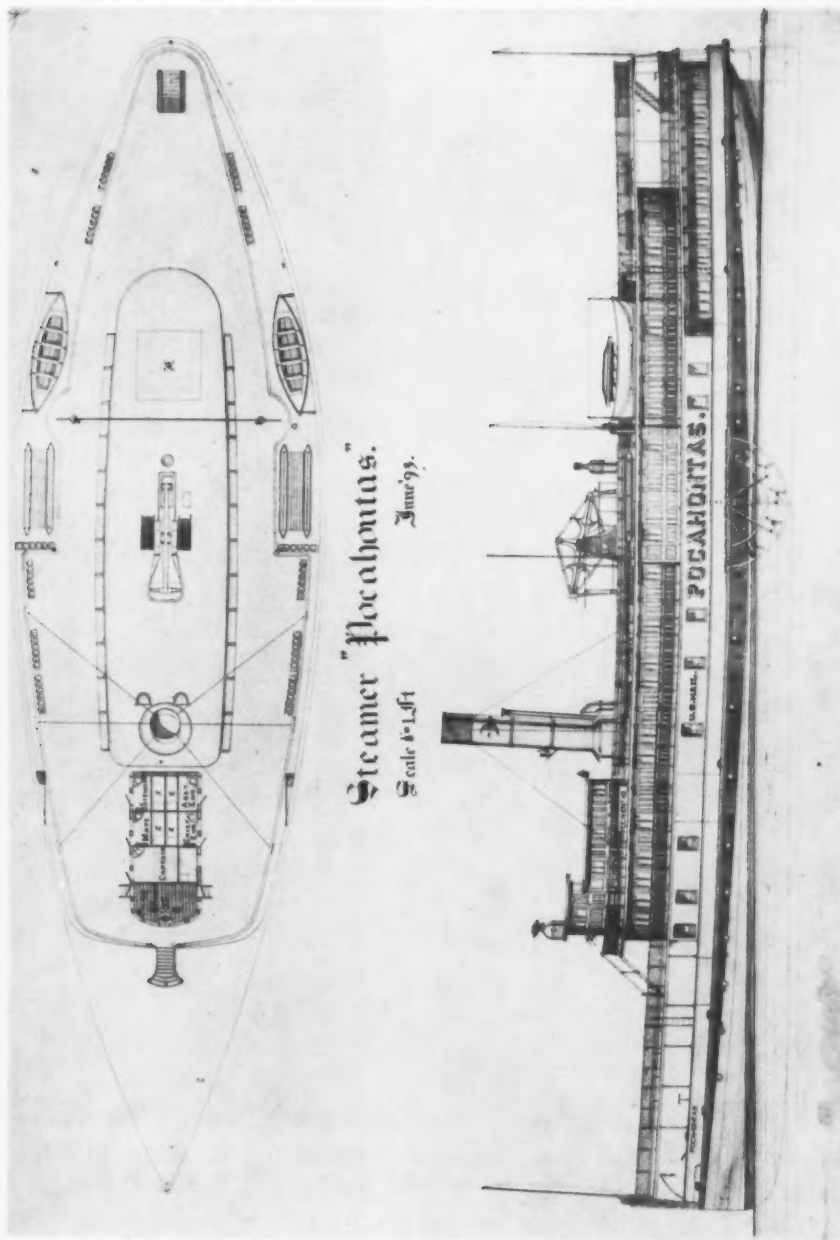


Last days of the *Pocahontas*—on the mud at Keyport, New Jersey, May 1937
Photograph by Robert McRoberts.



Interior views of the *Pocahontas*

An illustration from Afloat on the James, Virginia Navigation Company booklet, 1895.

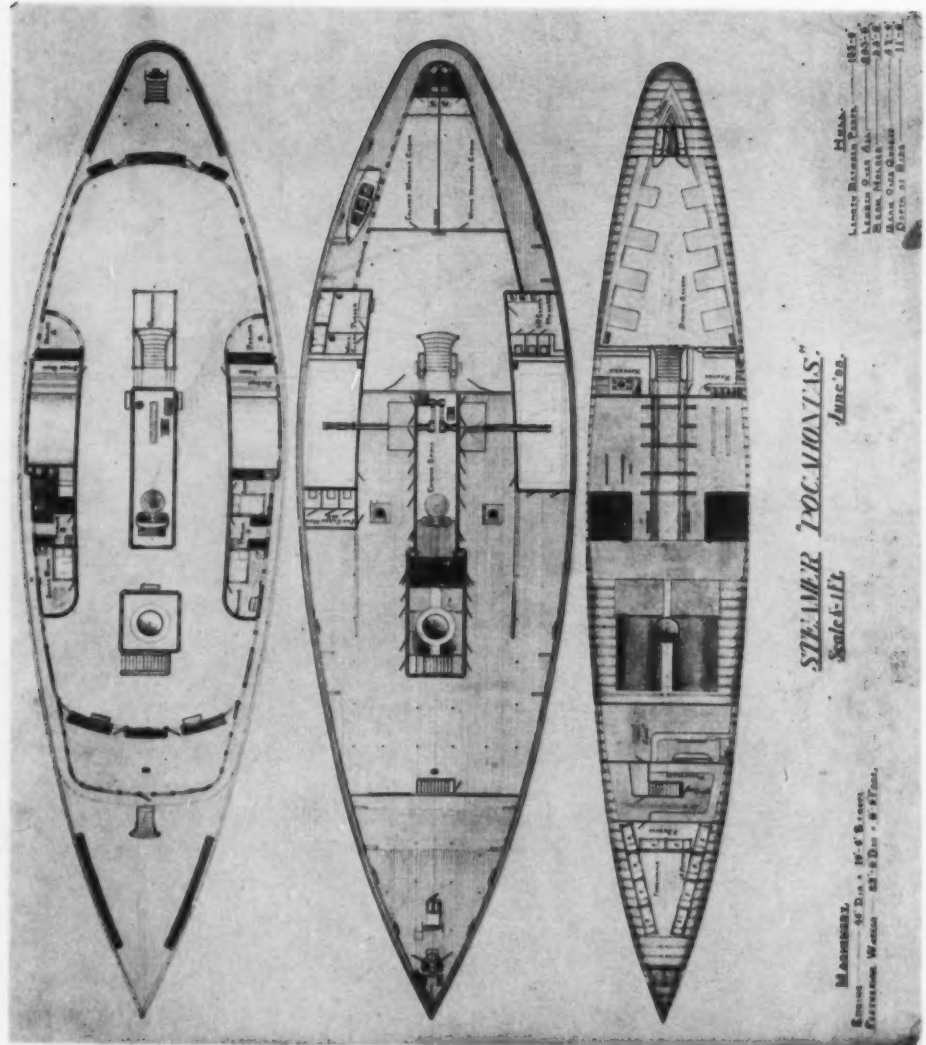


Steamer "Pocahontas."

June '93.

Scale 4'-1.5ft

Outboard profile and upper-deck plan of the Pocahontas
 Reproduced from the original drawing in The Mariners' Museum.



Deck plans of the Pocahontas
Reproduced from the original drawing in The Mariners' Museum.

Campeche Days

BY FRED HUNT

PERHAPS the Pensacola red snapper fleet of world war days was neither as picturesque as it then seemed to an inland youth meeting salt water for the first time, nor as it now seems to one who views it in memory, but one thing is certain. That is this: in the late 'teens it was the only big American deep-sea fishing fleet using all-sail vessels exclusively. In the early twenties the chugging bulgine began to befoul the clean Campeche horizon with its scrawling black trails; and by the end of the decade there were but few Pensacolamen left whose in'ards were not retching with greasy power plants.¹

During the period under consideration, 1915-1919, there were thirty-five schooners in the Pensacola fleet fishing on Campeche Bank, down off the northern coast of Yucatan.² This, of course, did not include the small inshore craft, known locally as Chingamarings, or simply Chings, fishing within a day's sail of port. These small fry, incidentally, already had power.

The offshore schooners were owned by two big fish concerns, E. E. Saunders and Company and the Warren Fish Company. They ranged in size from less than 50 to over 100 tons and in length from around 70 to more than 100 feet.³ Most of them had been built in New England shipyards, and had been 'sold South' after they had been driven hard for some years in the North Atlantic fisheries. The rest, with a few strays, had been built around Pensacola.

Most of the smacks had been constructed around the first decade of the century, with many exceptions.⁴ The oldest was the *Amy Wixen*, 47 tons, 67 feet, built in Boothbay, Maine, in 1870. Other oldsters included three launched in 1887: the *Cavalier*, 50 tons, built in Glencove, New

¹ 'Bulgine' was often used on the Gulf for 'engine.'

² Galveston had a fleet of about six big schooners also fishing on Campeche.

³ References are to gross tonnage and registered length.

⁴ Gulf fishermen used 'fishing schooner' and 'smack' synonymously.

York; the *Louise F. Harper*, 62 tons, built at Harkers Island, North Carolina, and the *Caldwell H. Colt*, 64 tons, built at Greenpoint, New York.

The *Colt* was a doughty veteran that differed sharply from other vessels in the fleet, what with her straight stem, her bowsprit that steeved upward at an angle to the sheer and her rakish masts. She had the only skipper's state-room to be found in any Pensacola fisherman. She was an ugly duckling all right, but I forgave her looks when she was pointed out to me as originally one of the few New York pilot boats that rode out safely the tragic gale which smashed that fleet of able vessels off Sandy Hook shortly after she was commissioned.⁵ Even when I knew her, and she was thirty-five years old then, she had the reputation of being an able vessel.

The Yankee-built schooners in the Pensacola fleet were, with few exceptions, of the clipper-bowed *Fredonia* model that prevailed in the New England fleet at the turn of the century. There were two or three round-bowed vessels, and about the same number of knockabouts. One of these knockabouts, the *Virginia*, an Essex-built vessel of 106 tons launched in 1910, was the longest schooner in the port, 102 feet. The largest fisherman sailing out of Pensacola was the *Yakima*, 108.5 tons, 96.6 feet, built in Essex in 1902.

The Florida-built schooners were clipper-bowed. They averaged slightly smaller than their Northern sisters; had more sheer and more flaring lines forward. With their fuller curves, they had something of the appearance of the Biloxi schooners, except that they had more freeboard and were less squatty in looks.

Up to 1920, none of these vessels had any means of propulsion save wind and canvas. A few of the larger ones had small gasoline engines, located on deck to starboard of the foremast, to heave up anchor and to hoist sail.

As to rig, these vessels were all orthodox two-masted fishing schooners. About the only variation was in topmasts and light sails. The smaller ones were bald-headed and carried only four lowers, mainsail, fore-sail, jumbo and jib.⁶ The larger ones carried two topmasts and, in addition to their four lowers, jib topsails and fisherman staysails. Those in the middle brackets carried a main topmast and their only light weather canvas was a fisherman's staysail. All three classes, of course, carried storm trysails to bend on in place of the mainsail when it began to blow hard.

The deck layout varied little, if any. Starting from forward and going

⁵ The famous blizzard of March 1888. A dozen pilot boats out of New York were wrecked. For the full account, see Charles Edward Russell, *From Sandy Hook to 62*, pp. 199-223. For the story of the *Caldwell H. Colt*, pp. 216-222.

⁶ 'Jumbo,' of course, refers to the fore-stay sail.

aft, one found, in order, the windlass, fore-mast, forecastle companion, fore hatch, mainmast, after hatch, cabin and wheel box. The Northern-built schooners usually had a break just forward of the mainmast to form a poop deck; something the Southern schooners lacked.

The layout below decks also followed orthodox fisherman practice. The forecastle was forward, with upper and lower bunk tiers on each side of the triangular table, and after end of which was braced by the butt of the fore-mast. In the after part of the forecastle was the galley, from which a door led aft to the fish hold. This had ice boxes on each side, four to six to a side depending on the size of the vessel, with a passageway between. Aft was the cabin, usually with only two bunks on each side; sometimes with a thwartwise bunk under the companionway. Aft in the overhang was the open storage locker for spare lines, fishing gear and the like. Light sails were usually carried in the forepeak when not in use.

The skipper always slept in the forward bunk on the starboard side of the cabin; and the mate in the forward bunk on the port side. The cook slept, as a rule, in the lower after bunk on the port side of the forecastle. The rest of the bunks went to the men who first slung their bags into them; although there was a sort of unwritten law that the more experienced men should sleep aft. The bunks had no springs and no mattresses. Some fishermen carried mattresses in their seabags, but most of them were content with a couple of blankets spread out on the bare bunk boards in bad weather or on deck in fine weather.

The men who manned this fleet were largely Yankee fishermen, with some Southerners, some Nova Scotians, and a sprinkling of other seafaring nationalities, mostly Scandinavians. Three or four of the schooners were manned exclusively by Italians; but the majority had polyglot crews.

The private lives of Pensacola snapper fishermen in the late 'teens would have been an interesting field for a sociologist. A number of the skippers had wives, children and homes, and lived a normal domestic life between trips. The fore-mast hands, with very few exceptions, had no domestic ties. They worked hard, bore hardships and risked their lives to earn a few dollars which they threw away on riotous living. It was not uncommon for a fisherman to be begging drinks forty-eight hours after he had been paid off a \$75 share.

Fishing was on a share basis. After the 'trip' was weighed out and the gross value of the catch had been compiled, the fish house deducted thirty-five to forty per cent as the vessel's share, depending on the age and

condition of the schooner.⁷ From the balance was deducted the expenses of the trip, including food, bait, ice and fuel for the shipmate range. The amount that remained was split into as many shares as there were men, plus one. That is, if there were ten men, the net was split eleven ways. The skipper, the mate and the cook each got a share and a third.⁸ All the rest of the crew got a share each. Meanwhile the fish house kicked back to the skipper a percentage of the vessel's share as a bonus.⁹

When the gross profits failed to equal the expenses, the trip was called a 'broker.' In that case the fish house made up the deficit, and the crew got nothing save that each man was given, as a sort of consolation, a ten-pound snapper. In theory he could peddle this for a dollar or so. In practice—well, before he could reach the residential district and start peddling his fish, he would have to pass a number of saloons where former shipmates were roistering!

It was the usual practice for all hands save the mate, the cook and one or two regulars who went with the same skipper time after time, to quit a vessel as soon as she paid off after a trip. Hence the skipper was generally faced with the problem of shipping almost an entire new crew each time. Although Pensacola fishermen of the time of which I write were pretty hard to drag away from certain hangouts on Palafox Street, there was a standardized procedure which could always be resorted to with confidence.

After stores and ice and bait were aboard, the skipper would hire a one-horse dray and drive up in front of the Green Front.¹⁰ There he would load a couple of barrels of beer into it, and perhaps several quarts of liquor.¹¹ The skipper would then perch himself on the seat beside the driver, and the dray could move slowly down Palafox Street, which leads to the water front. By the time the vehicle had covered the few blocks to the piers, there would be a ragged queue of fishermen rolling along boisterously in its wake.

The dray would rattle out onto the long wharf and fetch up alongside the schooner. Ready hands would help the skipper lower the purchases to the decks. He would then swing down from the wharf to his vessel, look up at the expectant grinning faces, crook an arm and call out, 'Come aboard, boys.'

⁷ 'Trip' is used to mean 'catch' by fishermen.

⁸ 'Mate' of a fishing schooner is usually called 'first hand.'

⁹ The skipper's bonus was generally understood to be twenty per cent of the vessel's share.

¹⁰ The Green Front was a favorite bar for fishermen.

¹¹ The liquor would be purchased on the store bill.

They would swarm over the rail as if drawn by a magnet; and the barrels would be broached, sometimes openly on deck, sometimes in a cabin, and a roaring wassail would ensue. At the end of an hour or so, with the beer about half gone, the skipper could clamp a stopper on it, and start shipping his crew.

'No more booze until I get my gang together,' he would say.

The business of shipping a man was simple. The skipper would merely slap him on the shoulder and say something like this: 'Get your bag, Bill, and make a trip with me, High-line trip sure, this time.'¹²

Bill would be thinking something like this: 'I wouldn't ship in this louse-bound hooker with this Hoosier if I was starving to death.'¹³ But I'll throw my bag aboard so I can get some more gin; and then, when he casts off, I'll grab my bag and hop back on the dock again.'

But he would actually say, 'Sure, skipper,' and run down the dock and get his bag from the last schooner he sailed in and lug it aboard. Very often when Bill came to again he'd be lying in the scuppers, the vessel would be well offshore, and he'd wonder how he ever came to ship in this 'bleedin' mud-scow.'

After the skipper had shipped the required number of men he'd shoo the rest ashore, let go his lines and, with a chugging launch alongside, pull out into the stream, hoisting the fore-sail as he went. Well away from the dock and with the fore-sail and jumbo on her, he'd drop his towline and head down the harbor.

The chances are, however, that he would not proceed to sea directly. Instead, he'd drop his hook in the outer harbor, lower sail and lay there overnight, until the liquor was gone and his crew had begun to show some signs of sobering up sufficiently to heave up, hoist sail and head out the harbor.

On several schooners in which I sailed the crew refused to hoist the mainsail after lying overnight in the outer harbor, but insisted on the skipper letting some of them taking a dory back to town and pawn sea-boots or oilskins or some other of their meager possessions to get more liquor. 'Jes' enough, skipper, ter straighten us out so's we can get that big mains'l on her,' they pleaded. On their return another orgy ensued and it was hours later before the mainsail started up the mast. It was, however, almost an inflexible rule that the schooner would be dry as a spar yard when she headed offshore.¹⁴

¹² 'High line' is the fisherman's way of saying 'best' or 'biggest.'

¹³ 'Hoosier' is the Gulf fisherman's term for landlubber.

¹⁴ 'Dry as a spar yard' is fishermanese for 'dry' or 'thirsty.'

With some of the gang sprawled about the deck helpless from drink and most of the others still weak and jittery, the first day out was something of a nightmare. Often only three or four men were able to stand a watch during the first night. By the end of the second day, however, heads had cleared, tough hides had sweated out the alcohol, regular watches had been set and the cook was serving regular meals. The two-day wassail was definitely at an end, and from now on it was a grim, relentless fight with wood, canvas and cordage against wind and weather; a fight against time; against dwindling stores, softening bait, melting ice; a fight to fill those big boxes.

Campeche Bank is roughly four hundred and fifty miles from Pensacola, steering a little West of South, and it extends north from the northern coast of Yucatan for one hundred miles. A fair passage one way was from three to five days, although six or eight days was not uncommon.

All hands save the skipper and the cook stood a trick. When watches were set, the mate took the first wheel and the rest of the gang followed in the order in which they bunked around the vessel, clockwise, from his berth. This system gave each man an hour and a half at the wheel day and night. In fine weather only the helmsman was on deck; in bad weather an extra man stood a lookout.

The helmsman would call the skipper only if the weather took a turn for the worse. When beating to windward at night the helmsman would tack ship by himself, unless it was blowing too hard. He would simply put the wheel down, run forward and cast off the lee jib sheet, make the tail rope fast to the lee shrouds, thus backing the jumbo and forcing the vessel's head around; and then, when the schooner had crossed to the other tack, he'd let go the tail rope, jump across the deck to the new lee side and sheet home the jib.¹⁵ He had to step lively, because if he let the jib fill, he couldn't sheet it unless the air was very light. All in all, it is not a hard job to tack a 100-foot, 100-ton schooner alone when she is under only four lowers and it is not blowing too briskly. The helmsman could flatten in the main and force sheets by merely luffing a bit. Incidentally the jumbo sheet of a Gulf fisherman is never touched. It is made fast close-hauled and left alone.

As to navigation: the skipper used dead reckoning exclusively save for taking meridian sights for latitude. I heard that there were a few chronometers in the fishing fleet, but I was never shipmate with one. There must have been some fairly competent navigators sailing out of

¹⁵ 'Tail rope' is a short line made fast to the after end of the fore-staysail boom for the express purpose of backing the jumbo.

Pensacola; but I do know that some of those with whom I sailed had only a limited knowledge of celestial navigation. One high-line skipper got so mad at me when I insisted that the sun was 'round like a ball' instead of 'round like a plate,' as he contended, that he ordered me off his schooner the minute he paid me my share of the second trip I made with him.

Despite their shortcomings in regard to scientific navigation, those Pensacola fishing skippers seldom made a bad landfall. I have seen Pensacola Light show up dead over the end of the bowsprit after a five hundred mile zig-zagging passage to windward during which no sights for longitude were taken.

On a passage to or from the Banks no work was done save the ordinary routine of taking a wheel twice each twenty-four hours, taking in the mainsail and jib when the squalls got too boisterous and standing a night watch in bad weather. Only repairs necessary to the ship's safety, such as sewing up a rent in a sail or splicing a line, were made by fishermen. The rest of the time was spent in sleeping, eating, reading and yarn spinning.

The day before the schooner was scheduled to get soundings on the northern edge of Campeche Bank, the men would overhaul their gear.¹⁶ This consists of a single hand line to which is attached an ordinary deep-sea kidney-shaped fishing lead with two hooks. The men fish from the windward rail of the schooner while the vessel is under the bank rig, that is, single-reefed mainsail, fore-sail and jumbo. The fish are caught on the bottom in fifteen to seventy fathoms. Bait is usually pickled skip-jacks. When bait runs short sometimes it can be 'pieced out' by mixing a little shark meat with it: that is, a piece of regular bait and a piece of shark are placed on each hook. Straight shark meat is practically worthless as bait. Porgies are sometimes mixed with bait, also.

Once on the Banks, no time is lost, and fishing starts immediately. Fish start coming over the rail the minute the skipper has put his vessel 'on fish.'

Life on the Banks can be most easily depicted, perhaps, by taking a single day, chronologically. The work on Campeche begins when the sun shows its first chord above the eastern horizon and ends when its last thin rim disappears below the horizon in the west.

As the sun creeps up out of the east it finds the vessel lying at anchor, with the mainsail set.¹⁷ The cook comes out of the forecastle companion, strides aft and sings out, 'Come and get it.'

¹⁶ A schooner would 'get soundings,' i.e., her headline would reach bottom, shortly after crossing the hundred-fathom curve on the northern edge of the Banks.

¹⁷ If the weather was threatening, the mainsail would be lowered for the night. When it was left set, often a fisherman's crew found several flying fish, that had presumably struck the mainsail, on deck at daylight.

The sleeping crew, instantly awake, spring up from their bunks, or more likely from their blankets spread around deck if the weather is fine, and pile down into the forecastle for their sunrise 'mug-up.'¹⁸ After gulping down hot coffee and some doughnuts or a piece of pie, they hurry on deck.

Now comes a daily ritual. Each man goes to his regular fishing station and takes his position sitting on the rail, facing inward, of course, elbows on knees, chin in cupped hands. And since a Gulf fisherman has no plumbing facilities, there they sit like so many pelicans perched on a drifting spar. The peculiar aspect of the situation is that no man attempts dismounting from the rail until the skipper, sitting solemnly at his regular fishing station abreast the wheel box, makes the first move. Once the master has completed his part of the ritual, the rest of the hands are soon off the rail and ready for the day's work.

The fore-sail goes up, the anchor is broken out and catted and the jumbo is hoisted. The mainsail is slacked off about right for reaching and the boom tackle is clapped on the big boom to prevent it from slatting.

With the vessel underway now and the skipper at the wheel the rest of the hands place their baitboards at their regular fishing stations along the windward rail, get their lines and start slicing up a supply of skip-jacks taken from the bait barrel lashed near the mainmast.

While the vessel is standing off on a short slant, one has time to observe how the men dress for fishing in fine weather. They are wearing undershirts, canvas fishing aprons belted about with marlin and either dungarees, or merely shorts. They are barefooted. When the winter northers come, they will wear flannel shirts and, in bad weather, oilers and southwesters and rubber boots.

The skipper's station is abreast the wheel, the mate, or first hand, is just abaft the main rigging; the cook's station is abreast the forecastle companion; the man presumed to be the best fisherman aboard is aft of the skipper on the quarter, and the rest of the gang are strung along the rail at intervals of about six feet.

After standing off for a few minutes, the skipper rolls the wheel down and calls out, 'Fore-sheet!'

The man fishing just forward of the main rigging, who is known as the 'Fore-sheet man,' drops his bait knife, whirls about and casts the fore-

¹⁸ 'Spring' is used advisedly, for fishermen worked on the share basis so that every fish a man caught augmented not only the net profits of the trip but his own individual share. Few of the Gulf fishermen soldiered on the job.

sheet off the cleat. The vessel shoots up into the wind; and while she still has considerable way on, the mate steps up on the rail just abaft the main rigging, whirls the sounding lead around his head and lets it fly. It bullets forward past the fore-rigging and splashes into the sea well forward of the bowsprit, perhaps sixteen fathoms from the mate. The lead sinks as the schooner ranges forward, losing way; and, if the mate has nicely calculated, the lead will touch bottom directly under his hand, the line taut.

He sings out the depth and then waits a few seconds to see if he gets a bite on the baited hook on the lead line. After he hauls in the lead he glances at its soap-filled hollow end and sings out what sort of bottom he brought up, 'Brown sand and dead coral, skipper.'

As soon as the schooner has lost most of her way, all hands drop their leads over the rail and their lines run down.

As the smack, even though hove to now, still ranges forward at a snail's pace and makes a little leeway, the lines lead out to windward and a little aft. The men, of course, are all fishing from the windward rail. To avoid fouling, each man drops his lead just 'under' the line of the man forward of him, that is, in the apex of the angle made by this shipmate's line and the side of the schooner.

As soon as his line stops running out, each fisherman pulls it in a few feet so that the bait will not lie on the bottom; and then he stands relaxed at his fishing station; slightly bent over the rail, perhaps with his left hand resting on it, and holds his line sensitively between the forefinger and the thumb of his right hand.

The whole art of catching fish in this manner lies in the ability to distinguish a bite from a slight tremor of the line caused by the surface wave motion—an art which is not perfected in a week or a month or maybe a year.

Due to the line being very slack, what with the forward and leeward drift of the vessel, perhaps fifty or sixty fathoms would be out to fish in a depth of thirty fathoms. With three hundred or four hundred feet of line out, a big fish could give the hook a forceful jerk and yet only a slight tremor would be transmitted along the slack line. Hence the difficulty in distinguishing a bite from the constant trembling of the line caused by wave motion.

Once the bite is felt, it is now just a matter of jerking sharply with the right hand and then hauling the line in hand-over-hand until the fish is over the rail. The fishermen, of course, wear rubber nippers to protect their hands. In good fishing a man frequently brings them over the rail in pairs; in poor fishing he is lucky to get them one at a time.

As the fish begin to come in, the skipper, sitting on the wheel box, watches the row of fishermen with a judicial eye. If, as it happens in rare cases, each man comes up with a pair of big ones, he'll drop the anchor and let the fore-sail and jumbo run down. If the fishing is good, but not quite that good, he'll simply toss out a buoy to mark the spot so he can find it again when he drifts off in half an hour or so. In most instances, however, he merely puts the wheel in the becket, thus leaving the vessel to hove to without any attention, and takes a line himself and fishes along with the rest of the gang until the pickings begin getting slim, or the 'spot is fished out,' usually a matter of half an hour or so during which a few hundred pounds—twenty or thirty fish, maybe—are picked up.¹⁹

Then the skipper goes back to the wheel, puts it up and calls out, 'Fore-sheet!' The fore-sheet man sheets home, the sails fill and the vessel swings off to try another spot a few hundred yards away.

After the morning 'mug up,' the gang gets in a couple hours' fishing before breakfast. There is another break around ten-thirty o'clock for the mid-morning 'mug up.' Dinner comes at noon, with a mid-afternoon 'mug up,' supper at five o'clock and a final 'mug up' just before turning in at night.

While on the subject of eating, it might be well to interpolate here that food aboard a Gulf fisherman leaves nothing that even a searfarer man can find to growl about. In quality and quantity, it is comparable with the meals served in a prosperous American farmhouse to a threshing machine crew. The smackmen realize that any given trip might turn out to be a 'broker,' with their net profits confined to the food stowed away; and so they see to it that the cook goes the limit in storing up. With seventy thousand pounds of ice in the hold, there is no refrigeration problem; and about the only thing that differs from what they could get ashore is canned milk instead of fresh. A whole side of beef is carried aboard; but even with the ice they see fit to salt the remnants of this down by about the end of the second week.

About the third week out, when much of the food has lost something of its 'freshness' despite the ice, fish begin to make their appearance on the fore-castle table. When fish begin to pall along toward the end of the trip, the cook sometimes takes a big fifteen-pound snapper, cuts out the lips and cheeks and serves them as delicacies after throwing the rest away.

¹⁹ Skippers often remained on the wheel box if fishing was pretty thin. A big umbrella, usually advertising the wares of some ship chandler five hundred miles to the northward, protected them from the sun. Cooks fished only between their galley duties. The becket is a light line with which the wheel is lashed.

The cook's 'Come and get it, boys!' is the signal for a mad dash from the rail for the forecastle, the men wiping their hands on their aprons and tossing the latter over their shoulders as they pile pell-mell down the companionway. Crowded in between the triangular table and the bunk tiers, naked from the waist up, with beads of sweat rolling off their noses and chins and dropping into their heaping plates, they wolf down their grub as fast as possible to escape the intense heat below. Sweltering is a nice word for a Campecheman's forecastle in summertime.

This digression on food over, we'll return now to the back-breaking business at the rail. When fish are first caught they are tossed in the lee scuppers for the time being. At the end of half an hour or so, depending on the intensity of the sun, they are forked down into the hold where the first hand ices them down in the big boxes, layers of cracked ice alternating with layers of fish. When the box is broken out two or three weeks later it will be a frozen solid mass of fish and ice. The fish are not cleaned aboard.

Supper over and the end of the long day fast approaching, there will be around twenty-five hundred pounds of fish iced down, if the fishing has run about average. As the sun slides down behind the rim of the sea the fishermen along the rail watch its final chord turn green and disappear.²⁰

'Reel up, boys,' the skipper sings out, and the tired men do up their gear and throw it, with their baitboards and aprons in the gurry pen.²¹ They take in the jumbo and fore-sail, let go the anchor, parcel the cable at the hawsepipe and go down into the cabin for their final—and fourth—'mug up' of the day before turning in.

And so it goes, day after day, from sun-up to sun-down, until the 'trip is made.' If this trip is about average there will be from thirty to forty thousand pounds in the boxes before they give her the jib for home. The bulk of the catch will be red snappers, running from two or three to twelve or sixteen pounds, and the rest will be groupers, running a little heavier. Perhaps there will be half a dozen warsaws, running upwards of one hundred pounds each.

Such a trip should be made in twenty-two to twenty-four days, ten of which were in passage-making; and each man would share about \$75.

Sharks were a bit of a bother in fishing on Campeche Bank. A man would be hauling in a fine twelve-pound snapper when he would sud-

²⁰ If one watches a sunset at sea, the final thin chord of the sun appears to turn vivid green, due to eye fatigue, just before it drops out of sight.

²¹ 'Gurry pen' is a small enclosure just forward of the cabin trunk used for stowing baitboards; and sometimes fish are thrown into it temporarily.

denly feel a hard jerk, and after that the fish would come up more easily. When he got it on the rail he would find that only the head remained—the rest had provided a meal for a shark.

Occasionally a man, taking a quick glimpse into the depths to see if he had hooked a snapper or a grouper, would see a huge gray shape swimming around and around his fish. This, of course, would be a shark; and then it was a race between the man and shark. By speeding up his hand-over-hand movement, the man could win easily enough provided that he did not, in his hurry, miss the line with the groove of one of his nippers. If he did that, the wet line would slide through his wet palm, the fish would stop momentarily, and the shark, nine times out of ten, would win.²²

Weather on Campeche and on the passages was usually fine. The exceptions were the fresh 'northers' in winter and the sudden dangerous squalls in summer. Sometimes these squalls marked the beginning of a stiff blow that would last a day or two. Of course, from July through October the Campeche skipper must watch the glass for signs of hurricane.

The big able schooners were rarely worried by the 'northers,' even in passage-making. Usually they carried through them under a storm try-sail, fore-sail and jumbo, although a tough one might necessitate heaving to under the fore-sail.

Summer squalls were humored according to their strength and the ableness of the vessel and the daring of the skipper. Under fishing rig, the skipper would hang on to his mainsail as long as he dared, as it took a lot of time and beef to hoist it again. With the skipper himself on the wheel box expertly gauging the strength of the squall and with men standing by the main halliards ready to lower away at his signal, I have been in the big *Yakima*, the *Clara G. Silva*, the *Ida S. Brooks* and a number of others when they took some stiff dustings without lowering their mainsails. Many times, however, this big rag had to come in when a squall struck. Certain skippers prided themselves on carrying the mainsail longer than their brothers.

Of course, when making a passage, the jib, jib topsail and fisherman's staysail came in at the first sign of a nearing squall. Incidentally, no Gulf schooners carried gaff-topsails. I was told that this was because the fast-rising squalls did not allow time to take them in.

A big able schooner like the *Yakima* or the *Rena A. Percy* or the *Fishhawk*, could take care of herself, given sea room, in about anything the

²² Four times out of five, perhaps, the shark cut the fish off just behind the gills; sometimes, however, he bungles the job.

Gulf had to offer when she was hove to under a reefed fore-sail.²³ Snugged down to this, you could put the wheel in the becket, go below and forget about the weather. That is, you could laugh at about anything save a hurricane; but that is a different story, and a long one and one that has been the obituary of many a stout-hearted man and many a fine vessel on the Gulf of Mexico.

Snapper fishing on Campeche was a hard life, but a colorful one and devoid of neither risk or thrills. Something was always taking place to break the routine. I remember, for instance, that time in the *Ariola* when we went ashore on Alacran Reef on Christmas Eve and spent the holiday with the Mexican family tending the light there. The day after Christmas, when we headed back for the Banks, we found out that somebody—we suspected the skipper and mate—had practically cleaned out our remaining stores and had traded them to the hungry Mexicans for a case of *ginebra*.²⁴ We had to set sail for home at once, of course; and during the five-day passage we lived on fish and coffee and bread; but so expert was the cook that we scarcely minded the sameness in his cuisine.

I remember a trip on another vessel when there was much loose talk of filling her up with guano on Alacran and heading somewhere north of Hatteras and selling the cargo for fertilizer.²⁵ Half-way across the Gulf, the skipper got cold feet and reneged, suddenly announcing his intention to 'make a trip of fish.' Most of the gang bluntly refused to either stand watch or fish; and the skipper took the wheel himself and swore he'd make the 'trip' if he had to stand all wheels and catch all fish. Losing interest in the guano plan, the gang then conceived the idea of running into Tampa for a grand carousal. About this time the cook came out of the forecastle bellowing that the water tanks were dry. He blamed the skipper for failing to refill them before sailing, the skipper blamed the mate and the mate said that it was the cook's job. I now suspect that one of the gang, disgusted with the mess, drained the tanks into the bilges, thinking that this would force us back to Pensacola. The skipper proposed to continue the trip melting ice for cooking and drinking purposes; but the gang protested that the ice water was brackish. The sullen com-

²³ The *Fish-hawk*, built in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1902, was an unorthodox type for a Gulf fisherman. A big 91-tonner, she had a spoon-bow and a tiny pinched-in transom stern. Her spoon-bow and her outside ballast caused her to pound and have such a jerky motion in the short Gulf seas that men could not sleep in her forecastle. The outside balance was removed, easing her motion. With tremendous beam for her length (24.4 feet to 86.2 feet) she was reputed to be 'stiff as a church.'

²⁴ 'Ginebra' was a brand of Mexican gin.

²⁵ Alacran Reef, 22° 18' N, 89° 40' W, is 'The Alacranes' on which William Dampier, the pirate, grounded in a small ketch just before he joined the buccaneers. Guano was the result of birds leaving their deposits on the islands probably for hundreds of years.

promise resulted in running several hundred miles to Port St. Joe to refill our tanks. We then made a halfhearted trip to the inshore banks trying to pick up enough fish to pay expenses, and, of course, made a 'broker.'

I remember another time hilariously heading seaward with a bevy of painted chorus girls, from some cheap road show, lolling about our decks. That trip probably would have made Campeche history had not the towing launch wisely insisted on taking our maudlin companions aboard and hustling them back to town.

Occasionally when we put to sea a dozen spring chickens would be perched mysteriously around the bunks in the forecastle. The cook would serve them a couple days later and no questions would be asked.

I remember making port on 25 November 1918, after we had been keeping a careful watch for German submarines, only to find that the war had been over for two weeks.²⁶ Our first question when the tow boat took our line was, 'Who won?'

Yes, they were a picturesque, hard-drinking, hard-fighting rough gang, those men who manned the all-sail snapper fleet in the lusty days of its glory, but something fine could be found in even the roughest of them. Take Big P. for instance, a great hulk of a man whose fall from aloft in a Grand Banker years before had left him slow of speech and slower of thought. It was only with deep concentration that he could tell time or make change.

But, when he saw me fishing at the rail in a bitter norther shivering with cold and my thin shoes soaked with sprindrift, he slipped down into the cabin, kicked off his boots and came back on deck in stocking feet. A few minutes later he turned to me and said, 'Go below, bye, and get me boots. I can't wear em; they make me feet sweat, B'Jesus.'

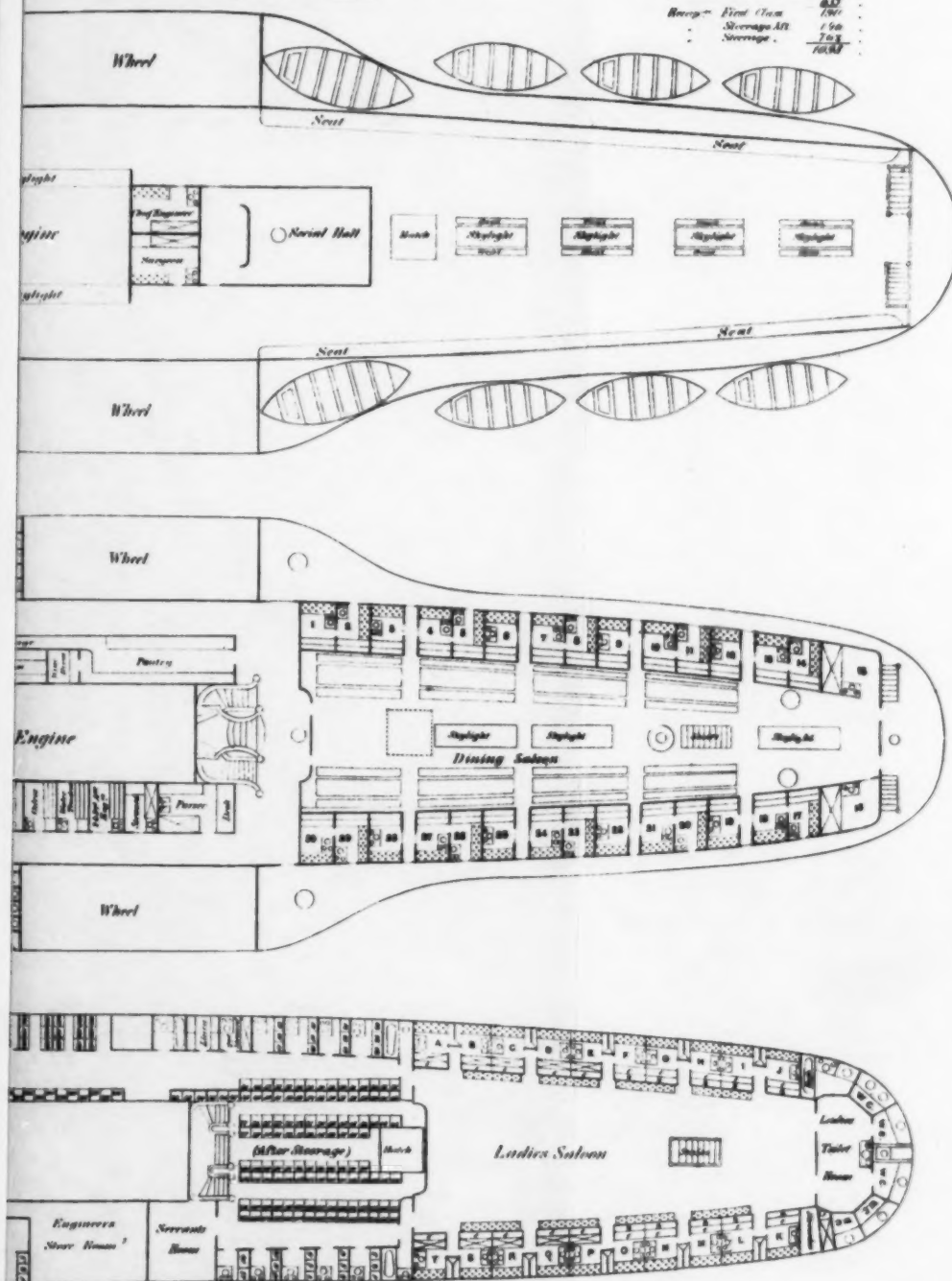
If consideration for others is the test of a gentleman, I consider that dull ox-witted giant to be the finest gentleman I have ever met.

Perhaps that breed of men died out with the ships that bred them. With the twenties came the introduction of auxiliary power, and by the end of that decade thirty of the forty big schooners in the Pensacola fleet had engines.

²⁶ In so far as we know, no German submarine came into the Gulf during the First World War; but we were on the alert constantly for them, especially after the U-boat had appeared off Cape Cod in the summer of 1918.

N

Accumulations		
Living Salaries	65	100
Loans	50	75
		150
After 10 years	50	75
Salaries		150
		100
Minimum Storage 65	100	150
	50	75
		100
After 10 years	65	100
Salaries	50	75
Salaries		100
Minimum Main Desk	50	75
		100
After 10 years	65	100
Storage	50	75
		100
		150





Notes

CABIN PLAN OF THE PACIFIC MAIL STEAMER *Japan*

IN January 1942, the Mariners' Museum at Newport News acquired a cabin plan of the Pacific Mail side-wheeler *Japan*. This is an extremely interesting item, and one which is well-nigh unique. The only other known cabin plan of an American wooden paddle steamer on the Pacific is that of *Nevada* in William H. Webb's *Plans of wooden ships* . . . , and this is certainly the first such plan of a Pacific Mail paddler which the author has ever seen. Since it only came into the hands of the Mariners' Museum after the publication of 'Side-wheelers across the Pacific' (NEPTUNE, II, 1, January 1942) there was no opportunity to make use of information from the plan in that article, and its publication should be considered as an *addendum*. In the light of this new information, some of the statements made in the article relative to the interior arrangements of the trans-Pacific steamers should be reconsidered.

There are certain aspects of the plan which are particularly interesting. It is apparent from this that the after deck-house on the spar deck contained a social hall and the companion leading to the deck below. The cabin state-rooms are shown as containing two berths and a sofa each except for the aftermost rooms on the main deck which were evidently the 'bridal rooms' and were furnished with double bed and no upper berth. The arrangement of the cabin rooms is also worth noting carefully. In the steerage there were three berths one above another in both the open standees and the doorless state-rooms. The arrangements on the berth deck to steerage men and women are interesting, but whether these were used in actual prac-

tice may be doubted in the light of accounts of travellers in the ship and her sister vessels. According to the plan, there were four bath tubs provided for cabin passengers and three in the steerage.

The plan is accompanied by tables, some of which are puzzling. On the table, the number of cabin berths is listed as 190 while a study of the plan itself reveals only 148. The table lists 908 steerage berths, cargo capacity of 2,135 tons, coal bunkers for 1,438 tons and tanks for 18,500 gallons of water.

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

LOSS OF THE SCHOONER *Albert H. Willis*

ON 25 October 1941 the Canadian three-masted schooner *Albert H. Willis*, bound light from Boston to Belliveau Cove, Nova Scotia, found herself becalmed off Dartmouth Ledge, thirty miles west of Digby, Nova Scotia. Before anything could be done to save her, the vessel was swept onto the ledge by the swift Fundy tide. It soon became evident that the *Willis* was working heavily in the swells and that she would break up. Accordingly, the crew was removed and as much gear as possible salvaged. By 28 October the vessel was gone.

Thus ended the twenty-seven-year career of a noteworthy coaster. Launched in 1914, by Frank S. Bowker & Sons of Phippsburg, Maine, the *Albert H. Willis* measured 157.7 x 34.1 x 14.2 feet and was of 567 gross tons, 487 net. Being a flush-decked vessel, she was apparently modeled after the large five- and six-masters of a slightly earlier day. In place of solid bulwarks, a handsome balustrade rail extended along her entire length, this feature serving to reduce the prominence of her forward deck-house. In her general design and relatively small size, the *Willis* seems to have been a link between the larger coasters of the early 1900's, and the smaller vessels of the

World War construction period, which were laid down both in the United States and in Canada.

The *Willis* was fortunate in that she was constructed in time to reap the full benefits resulting from the war shipping boom. No doubt her early years were both busy and profitable. At any rate, she seems to have kept out of the news until the early 1930's by which time she could be expected to begin to show her age.

On 1 September 1931, she ran ashore at East Chop, Martha's Vineyard, but was floated and proceeded. On 1 November of the same year when bound from New York for Eastport, Maine, she experienced heavy weather in the Gulf of Maine and was disabled off the Portland Lightship. She was towed to Portland having lost sails and sustained damage to rigging and steering gear.

This misfortune was apparently too much for her owner, George D. Rogers of Boston and on 8 December she was sold at auction by the United States Marshal at Portland to Kenney & Cors of New York, the price of transfer being \$1,225. Then began a period of sporadic operation and frequent sales.

19 May 1936, sold to Antonio Pina and there was talk of operating her in the packet trade to the Cape Verde Islands, Capt. Henry D. Rose of Providence, Rhode Island, being interested in using her for this purpose. These negotiations apparently fell through.

22 August 1936, transferred back to Kenney & Cors and was resold by them to George B. Gordon of Milford, Massachusetts. There followed another year of unprofitable operation.

19 August 1937, sold by United States Marshal at Eastport, Maine, to Lillian E. Pezrow of Boston for \$500.

This owner made an earnest and successful attempt to run the vessel and no doubt was much assisted by the appointment of a Canadian, Captain Ralph Ogilvie, as master. At last, the *Willis* appeared in the 'arrival' notices rather than

the 'sales.' On 22 November, she arrived at New York, having made the fair time of eighteen days from Beaver Harbor, Nova Scotia. On the way west, she had put into Portland where Captain Ogilvie met the master of the Canadian three-master *T. K. Bentley*, also west-bound. A discussion about the capabilities of the two vessels resulted in a friendly wager as to which would reach New York first. The race was won handsomely by the *Bentley* which reached port on 20 November, seventeen days from Apple River, Nova Scotia, five days from Portland, as against seven days from Portland for the *Willis*. Nevertheless, it was evident that the *Willis* was cared for and that she was on her way back.

On 18 January 1938 she was reported anchored one-half mile WNW of Nantucket Buoy with a broken windlass, but later she got under weigh without assistance. On 1 February she was sold to Captain Ogilvie and put under the Canadian flag. Then began a period of steady operation between the Maritime Provinces and New York and Boston. The outward bound cargo generally consisted of lumber, while coal was carried on the return trip. Months passed without incident until 28 July 1939 when she nosed into the mud on the way to her discharging berth at Quincy, Massachusetts. She was floated by the removal of her deckload. In 1940, she made good time in arriving at New York on 16 August, twelve days from Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.

On 9 November 1940 the *Willis* was reported in the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce* as having been sold to the Dominion Iron & Steel Company of Sydney, Cape Breton, for conversion to a barge. This report, however, was in error, since the next available news is of her loss on Dartmouth Ledge. At the time of her fatal stranding she was listed under the ownership of the Seaboard Shipping Company, St. Martin's, New Brunswick, with St. John as her home port.

Thus closes another chapter in the

history of the American coaster, a story which shows that properly operated and maintained the wooden schooner is capable of giving many years of good service.

ROBERT H. I. GODDARD, JR.

THE LATER HISTORY OF AMERICAN SAILING-SHIPS 'SOLD FOREIGN'

THE performances of American sailing-ships whilst under the Stars and Stripes have been fully recorded and are well known to all ship lovers but the enthusiastic reader is often left at the conclusion with the bare note 'sold foreign' and naturally asks, 'What then happened to her?'

From time to time we shall publish from the records of Daniel R. Bolt (Member, Society for Nautical Research, London) the later history of the ships, not necessarily the well-known 'high lights' but also the lesser known vessels in which somebody's antecedents faced no less hardships but carried on 'unhonored and unsung' by the historian.

It is difficult to trace in every instance the actual end of a ship. She may have met with some damage or becoming too leaky was laid up, eventually disappearing from any register for 'want of information.' Where possible the new signal letters and home port are given as these are often useful in identifying paintings.

Vessels built at Richmond, Maine

Arctic. Bark, 489 tons, built 1852 at Richmond, Maine.

Sold to Norway 1872 [JDFG of Christianssand]. Foundered July 1892.

Leone. Ship, 1,200 tons, built 1853 at Richmond, Maine.

Sold to Great Britain 1860 renamed *Pride of the Ocean* [LJMT of London].

Sold to France 1871 renamed *Leone* [of Bordeaux]. Returned to British Registry 1876 renamed *Pride of the Ocean*. Condemned 1879. Repaired and owned in Gibraltar. Stranded 11

January 1883 supposed off Shipwash Sand (North Sea) on voyage Hamburg-New York with empty casks.

Julia Farmer. Ship, 724 tons, built 1854 at Richmond, Maine.

Sold to Great Britain 1864 [VBPM of London] and to Norway c. 1873 renamed *Emma* [HNSR of Laurvig]. Condemned March 1897.

Shakespeare. Bark, 613 tons, built 1854 at Richmond, Maine, by Chas. Heger.

Sold to Norway 1875 [HNQJ of Christiania]. Towed into Stavanger 13 January 1913, lost deck load, badly strained, floating on timber cargo. Condemned. (Note age!)

Gettysburg. Bark, 1,015 tons, built 1864 at Richmond, Maine, by H. S. Hager. Sold to Norway 1885 [of Brevig]. Sold to Great Britain 1888 [KLSW of Aberdeen]. Stranded and wrecked 1 April 1889 Morant Cays, West Indies, on voyage Montevideo-Pensacola in ballast. Survivors on island for 25 days. Captain and seven of crew lost.

Tranquebar. Ship, 1,306 tons, built 1868 at Richmond, Maine, by Harward & Co.

Sold to Germany 1878 renamed *Leda* [KNMC of Bremen]. Stranded 28 December 1879 on Goodwin Sands, wind SW, force 9. On voyage New York-Bremen, petroleum. Piece of wreckage picked up 6 January 1880 with name *Tranquebar*.

Annie Torrey. Bark, 770 tons, built 1869 at Richmond, Maine, by Thurlow, Ellwell & Co.

Sold to Norway 1885 [HQVJ of Brevig]. Missing since November 1888.

Olive S. Southard. Ship, 1,193 tons, built 1871 at Richmond, Maine.

Sold to Norway 1889 renamed *Frey* [WMBV of Tönsberg]. Wrecked 29 December 1894, 2 miles S Ayr, wind force 11. On voyage Darien-Greenock, pitch pine, 15 crew.

Hagarstown. Ship, 1,808 tons, built 1874 Richmond, Maine, by J. M. Hagar. Sold to Germany 1893 renamed *J. D. Bischoff* [QFJV of Bremen]. Lost by fire

27 April 1897 at Newport News, laden with staves for Standard Oil Co.

Vessels built at Thomaston, Maine

Ionian. Ship, 749 tons, built 1850 at Thomaston, Maine.

Sold to Great Britain 1867 renamed *Huano* [VWMN of Aberdeen]. Sold to Norway c. 1887 [HSDC of Risör]. Sold April 1911 at Stavanger and hulked.

Alice Counce. Ship, 1,156 tons, built 1853 at Thomaston, Maine.

Sold to Great Britain 1864 renamed *Isabella* [VTGM of London]. Abandoned waterlogged 11 February 1880 in 43° N, 41° 45' W. Wind force 12. On voyage Pensacola-Dublin, pitch pine.

San Roman. Ship, 1,367 tons, built 1854 at Thomaston, Maine. Sold to Great Britain 1874 renamed *Sally* [KLVN of Liverpool]. Abandoned 8 January 1880 in 46° 12' N, 31° 30' W.

Jas. R. Keeler. Ship, 1,292 tons, built 1855 at Thomaston, Maine.

Renamed *San Juan* [nationality untraced]. Sold to Great Britain 1876 renamed *Saracen* [PHDC of London]. Sold to Austria c. 1880 renamed *Podesta Bazzoni* [HQFC of Trieste]. Sold to British owners at Gibraltar and hulked 1886.

J. Morton. Ship, 1,228 tons, built 1856 at Thomaston, Maine, by J. Morton. Sold to Canada 1864 renamed *Mount Royal* [of Montreal]. Wrecked 12 December 1875 Vatersay Bay, West Hebrides, on voyage Greenock-Sandy Hook, coal.

Frank Flint. Ship, 1,402 tons, built 1857 at Thomaston, Maine, by Chapman. Sold to Great Britain 1876 [LRHK of Greenock]. Hulked at Gibraltar 1883.

Montebello. Ship, 1,089 tons, built 1859 at Thomaston, Maine.

Sold to Great Britain 1864 [VNWK of Liverpool]. Sold to Argentine 1878. Sold to Germany 1883 renamed *Matthias* [QDFJ of Bremen]. Sold to Russia 1889 renamed *Ceres* [of Wasa]. Returned to American Registry 1897 as barge *Lichtenfels Bros.* [of New York].

E. Creighton. Ship, 1,288 tons, built 1860 at Thomaston, Maine.

Sold to Great Britain 1862 renamed *Star of England* [RVWF of Liverpool].

Sold to Sweden 1886 [HSBR of Stockholm] and to Norway 1887 [of Porsgrund]. Condemned 1888.

Mutual. Bark, 611 tons, built 1861 at Thomaston, Maine.

Sold to Great Britain 1864 renamed *Paria* [VQHL of Glasgow]. Missing since 21 October 1882, sailed South Shields-Genoa, coal and coke.

General Berry. Ship, 1,308 tons, built 1863 at Thomaston, Maine, by S. Watts & Co.

Sold to Holland 1876 renamed *Auguste* [NGBT of Amsterdam]. Sold to Norway 1886 [WDBM of Sandefjord]. Abandoned at sea March 1891.

Kate Harding. Bark, 714 tons, built 1869 at Thomaston, Maine, by S. Watts & Co.

Sold British 1887 [of Quebec]. Stranded 30 November 1892 near Highland Light, Massachusetts. Wind force 11. On voyage Barbados-Portland, Maine.

Loretto Fish. Ship, 1,784 tons, built 1869 at Thomaston, Maine, by S. Watts & Co.

Sold to Germany 1882 for \$24,000, renamed *Theodor Fischer* [QDPWG of Bremen]. Abandoned 23 February 1902 in North Atlantic on voyage New York-Portishead.

Samuel Watts. Ship, 2,024 tons, built 1870 at Thomaston, Maine, by S. Watts & Co.

Sold to Germany 1882 for £10,500 renamed *J. Weissenhorn* [QDPH of Bremen]. Sold to Norfolk 1894 renamed *Souverain* [JFKB of Stavanger]. Sold to Brazil 1902. Condemned and hulked at Rio, September 1902.

Eliza McNeil. Ship, 1,584 tons, built 1871 at Thomaston, Maine, by S. Watts & Co.

Sold to Germany c. 1882 renamed *August* [QDNT of Bremen]. Missing since August 1903.

DANIEL R. BOLT



Documents

OARS

[Lenthal MSS., Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.]

LENGTH of Oars Suitable for boats of the Following Description viz

Liners Launch, 3 ft. less than twice the beam.

Frigates Launch, 2 ft. 6 ins. less than twice the beam.

Liners 1st Cutter, 2 ft. 6 ins. less than twice the beam.

Liners 2d Cutter, 2 ft. less than twice the beam.

Frigate 1st cutter, 2 ft. less than twice the beam.

All other double bank boats 1 ft. 6 ins. less than twice the beam.

All single bank Boats 3 Times the breadth of Beam.

Proportion for an Oar (say 16 feet long):
1/4th loom or Inboard; 1/3 blade.



Contributed by M. V. Brewington.

JOHN BRADFORD TO WILLIAM ELLERY¹

Boston 20th Jany 1779

Honble Wm Ellery Esqr
Sir

As I take it for granted you dont give Credit to every article of Intelligence you see Announced in the News Papers, I thought it might give Pleasure to have the Account given the Publick through the medium of our Papers resp^s the Success of your little Cap^t Rathbourne² Authenticated by me. I have the Pleas-

¹ John Bradford Letter Book, II, 182; Library of Congress. Bradford was Continental Agent at Boston.

² Captain John Peck Rathbun, commanding the sloop *Providence*, of the Continental Navy.

ure to Acquaint you that I receiv'd a Ltr from him dated at Bedford the 12th giving me a similar Account with that you will see in our Papers, tho' the Printers had it not from me, and I think Edes³ was criminal in mentioning where the *Providence* arrived. We have had but one of the number yet get into the harbour wch is the Brig with Oats⁴ But none of the others save the Schooner with Flour⁵ is out of time, I hope by next Post to give the pleasing Account of the arrival of them all.

If they shou'd all arrive safe it will be a most happy Event to the whole Community and will give a pretty emolument to Cap^t Rathbourn & his Crew he had but fifty nine in Number when he sail'd including himself, when he took the Ship⁶ which had equal metal, the Enemy had several more Hands than he had, but Rathbourne Descended from a Game Breed, being Great Nephew to General Handyside & nephew to Admiral Maynard who left him a Legacy of £150 Stg if affords me Pleasure to give you so agreeable an Account of a Captain whom you patronize.⁷ I beg leave to refer you to mine to the Board for other Particulars I have the Pleasure to tell you your Connections here are well and am with all due respect

Sir Your most Obedient & very
hble servant

J BRADFORD

³ Benjamin Edes, editor and publisher of the *Boston Gazette*.

⁴ Brig *Providence-Increase*, from Cork to New York with oats.

⁵ Schooner *Friendship*, from Quebec to New York, with flour.

⁶ Ship *Nancy*, Glasgow to Jamaica, with dry-goods and provisions.

⁷ Of the five captures made by Rathbun in this cruise, three were brought safely in; the *Nancy* and the *Providence-Increase*, and the brig *Bella*, Jamaica to Bristol, with rum, sugar fustick and pimento. Recaptured were the *Friendship* and the brig *Chance*, Jamaica to Glasgow, with rum and sugar.

Contributed by William Bell Clark.

Queries

27. GULF COAST VESSELS. Can anyone suggest sources of material pertaining to shipbuilding or accounts of sailing ships or oyster and fishing schooners of the Gulf Coast regions of Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas? Were there very many ships and barks built on the Gulf? If so, at what localities were these activities carried on, and what were the approximate dates?

ERIC STEINFELDT

28. RIGGING OF SCHOONERS. Does anyone know of any source material (books or manuscripts) that gives details of rigging of fishing and lumber schooners built before 1900?

ALBERT E. PARSONS

29. CANTON FACTORIES. I would like to hear of any paintings or drawings of the foreign factories at Canton that are definitely dated, or of any published or manuscript journals or letters written at Canton in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which contain references to the factories. There are innumerable paintings of these buildings, only a few of which are dated. From the study of some of these it has been possible to make some deductions about the history and sequence of the various buildings in the area. The flags shown and the presence or absence of the fence around the square and the foreign church supply further clues, but there are still many uncertainties. Any refer-

ences, however casual or apparently trivial, would be greatly appreciated.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

30. EARLY SCHOONERS. Field's *State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, III, 579, quotes a portion of a contract for the construction of a schooner in 1681 on the Pawcatuck River. She is said to have been built by Joseph Wells and named the *Alexander and Martha*. Does any reader know of the location of the original contract? No reference is given by Field. Another undocumented statement is made in Andrews' *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, I, 405, that 'in 1675 boats and schooners began to be built in Miles river.' As these are many years before the date usually given for the first use of the word 'schooner,' the authentication of the references and the dates would be of great importance. Can readers in Rhode Island, Connecticut or Maryland aid in tracing the original documents?

M. V. BREWINGTON

31. PHILADELPHIA SHIPWRIGHTS. Some time between 1783 and 1790 the master shipwrights of Philadelphia organized themselves into a trade association or guild for the improvement of marine architecture. Among other things the group fixed a scale of prices for building and repairing vessels, making masts, and so forth. No record of the membership, the proceedings of the meetings, or the price scale seems to exist in any of the Philadelphia libraries; does any reader know of their existence or anything of the history of the association?

M. V. BREWINGTON

Answers

HAMPTON-HAMPDEN BOAT. The recent letters in regard to the history of this type of fishing boat (and spelling of the name) that appeared in the NEPTUNE [I (1941), 90, 173, 311-312] make further discussion on this type of boat pertinent. I call attention to two rigged models in the Watercraft Collection of the Smithsonian. One of these is catalogued under number 57,031, page 178, and is referred to as a boat from Monhegan Island in both the catalogue description and the label on the model. Inspection of the model will show that this model is a true Hampden or Hampton boat. The typewritten and manuscript original notes used in the Watercraft Catalogue, written by Collins, repeat the general information given in the published catalogue. The next model that requires attention in this collection is No. 57,032 in the catalogue, page 182. This is called a Matinicus Boat and has a hull much like the Monhegan Boat or Hampden, but is one-masted and sprit-sloop rigged. A note says that many of this type were clench-built. I think inspection of the hull will indicate that this is also a Hampden. I noticed in the manuscript catalogue that the models are gifts from persons in the vicinity from which a type originated and that the manuscript catalogue and the actual labels of the models are usually based on the donor's description. Consideration of this, and the fact that the donors of the Monhegan and Matinicus models did not apparently call them Hampdens or Hamptons, cause me to raise the question as to whether the name Hampton or Hampden is not a relatively recent classification of the type? I am now inclined to think so, as there is no evidence

that Collins or his investigators ever heard of the name.

This leads to another matter concerning craft in the model collection of the Smithsonian. Time and again a question has been raised as to the accuracy of the identification of various models and the proper application of names of types to certain models. Having been skeptical of some of the identifications of types myself, I wish to point out that such skepticism does not necessarily question the actual labels of the models. For example, one model of a Great Lakes Pound Net Sharpie (illustrated in the catalogue, Fig. 58, page 199) is called a 'North Carolina Sharpie.' I suspect that this can be explained by an attempt by Collins to introduce this type in the Carolinas, rather than the actual existence of such a type in wide spread use in these waters. The model of a sharpie illustrated on page 197 of the catalogue (Fig. 57) is called an 'Atlantic Coast Sharpie' there; the original manuscript catalogue shows that this model came from the Carolinas, and I think it is quite correct to say that this is an excellent example of the early sharpies used there before the more recent schooner-rigged sharpies became popular. The published catalogue infers that this model can be assumed to represent the Connecticut Sharpie but of course this is not quite true. Though there is a question as to the propriety of using 'proposed models' to represent fishing types of some locality, nevertheless I am not in favor of altering the old catalogue description or the labels. It might be desirable to add to the labels and descriptions, so that modern identifications can be given, but it must be remembered that the donors of most of the models were familiar with the type whose model they gave and knew its type name *at the time of gift*. The fact that modern type names, or rig names, do not agree with the manuscript catalogue or the actual

card label may not indicate that these are wrong; rather it may indicate the type name has changed, as apparently is the case with the Matinicus-Monhegan boats. Before raising questions of the correctness of the labels or cataloguing of the Watercraft models it is well to consult the original manuscript catalogue in the Curator's office. The published catalogue does not always repeat the manuscript description exactly, which is most unfortunate.

It is apparent, I think, that my article in *Yuchting* is not complete, insofar as it does not refer to the two rigged models in the Watercraft Collection and to the inferences that can be drawn from their catalogue descriptions. My excuse is that the published catalogue gave me very little information to go on; only a personal inspection of the two very interesting models led me to believe them to be early Hampdens or Hamptons. Now, if the Matinicus and Monhegan Boats are really Hampdens as I think, the name would have been in use when these models were made and would have been mentioned as in the case of the 'quoddy boat' and 'peapod'; to quote two nearby examples. What, then, becomes of the tradition of descent from the Hampton Beach Boat? I cannot say that I could accept dismissal of the Watercraft models' names as the result of ignorance, since the models illustrate the type-shape too well to have been made by a casual investigator. If he knew the shape and rig well enough to make so accurate a model, as either of these appear to be, I cannot understand why the type name we now use was not mentioned had it been in use at the time the models were presented.

It might be well to suggest that the following catalogue or label descriptions actually represent modern type names as shown.

Monhegan Island Boat, Cat. No. 57,031 is a Hampden Boat.

Matinicus Island Boat, Cat. No. 57,032 is a modified Hampden Boat.

Two-masted Catboat, Cat. No. 26,585 is a Massachusetts Lobster Boat; fore-runner of the later Kingston, or Plymouth, Lobster Boats.

Reach Boat, Cat. No. 57,561, is a modified peapod, clench-built, and larger. The type name used appears to be obsolete now. Model 56,864 is a true peapod though she differs from modern members of the type I have seen in being clench-built.

'Croatan Island Boat' in the model collection is better known to modern students of boat-types as an 'Albemarle Sound Boat.' I think, however, the label name is the most correct as the boats appear to have been only built on the island. So far as I know the type is now extinct.

HOWARD I. CHAPPELLE

CAPTAIN SANDS' LOCUST TREE. I have heard the tradition that a shipmaster, noting how valuable the locust was to the farmers of Maryland and Virginia, brought up some young trees and planted them at Sands' Point, and that from there almost all the farmers of Long Island started their groves, the timber being very valuable for fence and other posts. This was the *yellow* locust, now found wild over almost all of Long Island. In my boyhood I knew of a few trees of what I think was known as sweet locust, but I know of none now. The yellow locust made fine tillers, but it was very hard to fashion one. I know, for I well remember trying to make one.

ROBERT F. LIVINGSTON

5. *THE Mary Celeste*. A map in the New York Public Library of Hudson County, New Jersey, issued in 1873, shows the Venango Oil Works on the Weehawken River front, not far north of the celebrated Elysian Fields, where the Hamilton-Burr duel was fought. The map indicates various slips of different depths for vessels to load. This undoubtedly was the 'Venango Yard' where the *Dei Gratia* and other vessels were reported

loading petroleum during the latter part of 1872.

CHARLES EDEY FAY

24. SCHOONER *Doris Hamlin*. The 1939 stranding of the *Doris Hamlin* occurred not at Cap Haitien, but at the entrance to the port of Guadeloupe, when the vessel was loaded with coal. The coral damaged her underbody somewhat, but she managed to deliver her cargo and sail back to Baltimore without any major repairs. Captain George H. Hopkins was master at the time, but the stranding was no fault of his. Upon arrival at Baltimore, the *Doris Hamlin* was tied up, due to insufficient funds for repairs. It was rumored that she was for sale at this time. After a period of idleness she left for Norfolk under tow. The schooner was not actually sold by her Baltimore owners. The Dexter-Carpenter Coal Company, Inc., of New York took title

in the name of the New York Oceanic Company from its charterers, who were New York people, as security for certain advances which they had to make for repairs.

On 5 January 1940 the *Doris Hamlin*, under the command of Captain S. E. Isaksen, sailed for Las Palmas, Canary Islands. A few days out she encountered a severe storm, and had to be towed back to port on 8 January by the Coast Guard. She was so damaged that she required considerable repairs. In order to protect the delivery of their cargo, the Dexter-Carpenter Coal Company advanced the money to pay the crew and for repairs. By 7 February she was in condition, and sailed once again for Las Palmas.

To my knowledge nothing has been heard of the *Doris Hamlin* or its crew since she passed Cape Henry on 12 February 1940.

ROBERT H. BURGESS

News

THE MARINERS' MUSEUM

Newport News, Virginia. The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the American Association of Museums was held at Williamsburg, Virginia, on 18 and 19 May 1942. A paper prepared by Mr. S. B. Besse, formerly chief of model construction at The Mariners' Museum, entitled 'Technique of a Ship-model Shop' was read before the Association's Science Technical Section. Special arrangements were made for the delegation to visit The Mariners' Museum on the afternoon of 20 May.

An exhibition of U. S. Naval recruiting posters, 1917-1942, was first put on display on 7 June in connection with a nation-wide Navy enlistment program.

PEABODY MUSEUM

Salem, Massachusetts. Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., was elected President of the Museum on 6 June. Mr. Loring succeeds Lawrence Coolidge, President since 1939, who is now on active duty as an officer in the United States Naval Reserve.

Because of the war, the new exhibition rooms have been opened without any formal ceremony. The summer exhibitions include water colors of naval engagements of the War of 1812, etchings and lithographs by George C. Wales, lent by Mrs. Wales, and prints of the sailing and steam navy of the United States from the Museum's permanent collection.

At the 23 March meeting of the Peabody Museum Marine Associates Stephen W. Phillips spoke on 'The Spice Islands, from Vasco da Gama to the Japs.'

On 27 April Baron R. de Kerchove spoke on 'Nautical Dictionaries.' Because of gasoline rationing the May and June meetings were omitted. A meeting will be held in July.

On 9 May a dinner in honor of Walter Muir Whitehill was held at the Hotel Hawthorne in Salem. Cocktails were served in the Cabin of the Salem Marine Society, and Mr. Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr., provided one of his admirable Peabody Punches, according to the formula published in the January 1942 NEPTUNE. Charles M. Wright presided. Dr. Whitehill was given a silver cocktail shaker; Mr. Loring making the presentation on behalf of the company and other friends who were unable to be present. Informal remarks were made by L. W. Jenkins, Stephen W. Phillips, Lincoln Colcord, Carl C. Cutler, Albert T. Gould, Harold Bowditch, Robert E. Peabody, Fred Anthoensen, Augustus P. Loring, 3rd, A. Alfred Mattsson, James Duncan Phillips and Philip R. Calder.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE

JOANNA C. COLCORD who, like her brother Lincoln Colcord, was born at sea, is a member of the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation. She has collected and published many sea chanties.

Langton Haldane-Robertson is the Archivist of the Island Record Office, Spanish Town, Jamaica, British West Indies.

Fred Hunt, who spent several years in the Pensacola fishing fleet, is now a reporter on the Quincy, Massachusetts, *Patriot-Ledger*.

Daniel R. Bolt of Deal, England, is the son of a ship-master who commanded two American built ships, *Royal Dane* (ex-Sierra Nevada) and *Young Australia* (ex-Red Rover).

Book Reviews

FREDERIC W. HOWAY, ed., *Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790 and 1790-1793* (Boston: The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1941). 7¼" x 9¾", boards, cloth back. xxviii + 518 pages, 12 illustrations. No. 79 of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. \$4.00.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has performed a great service to the history of maritime exploration by publishing in one volume all extant journals and documents of the two famous voyages of the ship *Columbia* around the world. It was equally happy in choosing as the editor of this volume Judge Howay of British Columbia, whose knowledge of Northwest Coast history and topography is superior to that of any man living. His annotations to the journals add immensely to their value, and his introduction gives all the necessary facts about the writers, and the commanding officers. Captain John Kendrick, it is clear, was a shifting character who was out to make money for himself and not the owners; Captain Gray was the hero of both expeditions.

The first document is the Journal of the first voyage by the *Columbia's* nineteen year old third mate, Robert Haswell. He writes a good seamanlike journal, and gives an extended account of the manners and customs of the natives of Vancouver Island, and a vocabulary of their language. Judge Howay notes that a considerable number of these words have been incorporated into the Chinook jargon still used on the Northwest Coast; the reviewer, who has sailed along that coast, happily ascertained that citizens of the U. S. A. were still called 'Bostonmen' by the Indians. The Massachusetts Historical Society owns a volume of business documents and miscellaneous papers on both voyages which are of inestimable value for information as to cargo and equipment. Selections from these, together with documents from other sources on the economic and diplomatic aspects of the first voyage, follow Haswell's Journal, and a similar collection of miscellaneous papers on the second voyage closes the volume.

The second voyage, on which the Columbia River was discovered, is better recorded than the first. John Hoskins, the twenty-two year old supercargo, wrote a detailed and interesting narrative that covers one hundred thirty printed pages. The manuscript, owned by the Society, has been printed before, but its inclusion in the present volume was entirely proper. Haswell wrote a narrative of this voyage as well, which is printed after Hoskins's. But the most interesting of all the narratives is the illustrated 'Remarks' on the *Columbia's* second voyage by her fifth mate John Boit, who passed his sixteenth birthday at sea just after the voyage began. Boit's is the only narrative that records the discovery of the great river that bears the name of his noble ship, and which registers the impact of China on a curious young Yankee.

Judge Howay naturally is more interested in what the writers have to say about

the Northwest Coast and its people than in the strictly maritime aspects of the voyage. The narratives are a mine of information about American sea practices of the day, and the annotations might have been doubled or trebled by a naval historian. For instance, the reviewer, reading Boit's 'Remarks' in manuscript many years ago, noted the curious expression, 'hoisted the ensign in a wiff.' No dictionary or work of reference explained what a wiff was; and I sought for its meaning in vain until I consulted the late Captain Arthur H. Clark, whose sea experience began only fifty years later than Boit's. He explained that a wiff was a bit of spunyarn fastened about the middle of an ensign or other flag, and that a flag thus prevented from flying free was a recognized signal of distress.

The volume is liberally illustrated by portraits, charts, and by three of the drawings made on the voyage by George Davidson, and now owned by the Rev. Clifford Gray Twombly. It is a pity that the entire series, or the contemporary copies of them owned by the Society, were not reproduced. Nevertheless, this volume is sumptuous, so carefully printed and meticulously edited, that any detailed criticism is beside the point. In the long series of publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, none has contributed more valuable material to American maritime history.

SAMUEL E. MORISON, Lieutenant-Commander, U. S. N. R.

CHARLES EDEY FAY, *Mary Celeste, The Odyssey of an Abandoned Ship* (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1942). 7¼" x 10¼", cloth. 284 pages, charts, 13 plates, wood engraving in three colors by Rudolph Ruzicka, index. \$5.00. Also a limited and numbered edition at \$7.50, and an abridged version (104 pages, same illustrations) at \$2.50.

For seventy years the story of the ill-starred *Mary Celeste* has been bandied about the world in all its romantic implications, growing larger and wilder with each retelling; and all the while the simple facts lay in dusty pigeon-holes, while narrator after narrator failed to look them up or refused to consider them. The case, indeed, became perhaps our chief legend, and took on all the best qualities of legendary technique. Long since the point had been reached where the public did not want the facts, but chose rather to cleave to the romantic build-up. It was more fun to speculate about the *Mary Celeste* in terms of fiction, to believe in the fire burning in the galley, the warm meal on the cabin table, the bottle of cough medicine standing open but unspilled beside a plate, the watch ticking on the wall, the ship's boats in their accustomed places, the vessel under full sail, and everything in perfect order aboard except that all hands had unaccountably disappeared.

Charles Edey Fay has set himself the job of correcting this false set of impressions by simply presenting the documents in the case and discussing them for the first time with a measure of straightforward seamanship. And all-told, he has produced a book for genuine lovers of the sea that, in this reviewer's opinion, is better than all the romance and fiction that have been woven around the story of the *Mary Celeste* since her case first came before the public in 1872. The legend helped, of course; there is definite romance in destroying a well-established legend. Seamen and lovers of the sea are primarily interested in truth, and the pursuit of real truth in a case like this, analysing successive fictional interpretations, finding their weak points and showing them up for what they are, finally settling down to a factual

interpretation of the bizarre story, furnishes all the interest and excitement of a good mystery tale.

For the story indeed is bizarre, despite the simple facts; it will always remain a mystery, and true romance can gather around it at will. The galley stove was not burning when the *Mary Celeste* was found sailing along off the Azores without anyone at the helm, there was no warm meal or bottle of cough mixture on the table, the ship's boat was missing, and she was under greatly reduced sail. Yet the whole ship's company had vanished from the earth, and there was nothing in evidence on board to have caused such a fateful event. The brig was sound from truck to keelson; she had a few feet of water in her hold, but this obviously had come aboard through the open fore hatch after she had been abandoned and during the succeeding gale of wind that had blown away some of her sails. When the mate of the *Dei Gratia*, who boarded her with a salvage crew, pumped her out and put on the hatch, she was in perfect condition. He merely had to clear her decks, reeve off some new running gear, bend a few new sails and set those that were furled, and sail her in to Gibraltar.

Why was the *Mary Celeste* left in such a condition on the high seas? That is a question that can never fully be answered. Captain Briggs was a fine seaman out of Marion, Massachusetts, the descendant of a long line of ship-masters, a man of judgment and experience. He had his wife and baby aboard. The first mate, Albert G. Richardson of Stockton, Maine, was an equally experienced seaman. The crew seems to have been an exceptional one for the times, consisting largely of men of good character who knew ships and the sea. The question of mutiny, or of any trouble aboard which caused the catastrophe, is simply out of the reckoning. There was not a trace about decks of anything of the sort, in spite of the idiotic issue of the rusty sword and the cut in the rail which was made so much of by the romantic Irishman, Frederick Solly Flood, Proctor for the Queen in Her Office of Admiralty at Gibraltar.

Why, then, was the *Mary Celeste* abandoned in perfect condition by a company of ten people led by a middle-aged ship-master of excellent reputation? Obviously, something frightened them off the ship. The long-boat had been lashed across the main hatch; it was gone, and the starboard rail of the flush-decked vessel opposite the hatch was ripped away. The boat had been got out in a hurry. There had been a westerly gale, according to the ship's log that was found on the table, before which the *Mary Celeste* had been running under shortened sail; they had passed Santa Maria in the Azores, and this morning the wind had dropped, although it is evident that they had not yet made sail. Then something frightened them.

It could not have been the water in the vessel, since she was tight and the water that was found in her must have come in from the deck afterwards. The fact that the fore hatch was off is the key to it all. The *Mary Celeste* was loaded with alcohol in casks. There must have been leakage of the cargo, alcohol fumes in the hold, and an explosion, which if not severe enough would leave no trace. They hurried into the boat, and possibly towed for a while at the end of a long line, the main peak halyards, which was trailing over the quarter when the vessel was found. Then the boat capsized, or the wind came up and she broke adrift, or something of the sort happened. This is the explanation of Dr. Oliver W. Cobb of Easthampton,

Massachusetts, cousin of both Captain Briggs and his wife, and it is the theory most favored by the author, Mr. Fay.

At any rate, you can form your own theory, but all the facts are at last assembled here for your consideration. Mr. Fay has unearthed from the records at Gibraltar the testimony of the *Dei Gratia's* mate and salvage crew at the Admiralty trial there, and gives it to us verbatim; the report of John Austin, Surveyor of Shipping at Gibraltar; the report of Dr. J. Patron on the matter of blood-stains, which unaccountably lay sealed in a pigeon-hole for many years; the highly significant report of Captain R. W. Shufeldt of U. S. S. *Plymouth* to Horatio Sprague, U. S. Consul at Gibraltar; all the correspondence between Mr. Sprague and the State Department in Washington; the documents pertaining to Flood and his silly yet important part in the case; facsimiles of all the official documents connected with the *Mary Celeste*, her registers, crew list, log, and so forth; a similar set of documents on the brig *Dei Gratia*, the vessel that found the *Mary Celeste* and salvaged her; everything, indeed, that has any bearing on the case or would help in any way to solve the mystery.

In short, this is the last word on the case of the *Mary Celeste*, the definitive volume that permits of no further overhauling. Written with charm and knowledge, and reflecting an attitude of sound common sense and practical seamanship, it really gives us for the first time a comprehensive and intelligent view of an incident that will continue to stir the imagination of ship-minded men.

LINCOLN COLCORD

Searsport, Maine

GEORGE S. BRYAN, *Mystery Ship: The Mary Celeste in Fancy and Fact* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942). 6" x 8 1/4", cloth. 320 pages, photographs, index. \$3.00.

It is a remarkable thing that after seventy years of non-scientific approach to the story of the *Mary Celeste*, two books should have appeared in the same season dealing with the facts in the case and approaching it from a standpoint of truth rather than fiction. Mr. Bryan's book is nowhere near so complete and authoritative as Mr. Fay's, but it makes excellent reading. The testimony and documents are abridged rather than being given in full, and in general the journalistic method of making as big a story as possible out of the material injures the narrative for those who want the facts and don't care about the window dressing. Furthermore, Mr. Bryan gets himself badly tangled up in his foreword, which appears to sanction all the fictional aspects of the case which his text later denies. But it should be said that his approach to the problem is sound and seamanlike, that he covers much of the same ground that Mr. Fay has covered, and that he, also, agrees with the explanation advanced by Dr. Oliver W. Cobb. In one particular he has done us a great service, by reprinting in full the early fictional story by Conan Doyle which is more responsible than any other piece of writing for the flood of romantic tales and explanations that has descended on the case of the *Mary Celeste* through the years.

LINCOLN COLCORD

Searsport, Maine

The Ocean Chronicle, Published by Captain E. P. Nichols on board the Bark Clara and Ship Frank Pendleton, 1878-1891 (Searsport, Maine: Penobscot Marine Museum, 1941). 7½" x 10", cloth. 96 pages, of which 92 are offset reproductions of the original newspapers. Foreword by Lincoln Colcord. \$5.00.

In the leading article of this issue Miss Joanna C. Colcord has described the domestic life of shipmasters and their families on shipboard in the later years of the nineteenth century, and the average reader will be somewhat surprised to discover how comfortable they were, and how completely they carried their normal domestic arrangements to sea with them. Captain Edward Payson Nichols (1844-1899), master of the bark *Clara* and the ship *Frank Pendleton* took a printing press along and amused himself by writing, setting in type and printing a newspaper, 'printed for pastime only, and sent to friends as a letter, therefore not open to criticism.' One issue each voyage was the rule, and the terms of subscription were one letter. This arrangement, Captain Nichols claimed, saved the trouble of writing letters. Three issues appeared in 1878-1879 under the name of *Pill Garlic*, but, to avoid an argument with Mrs. Nichols, the newspaper was thereafter called *Ocean Chronicle*. In 1881 when the *Clara* was driven ashore at Algoa Bay, South Africa, Captain Nichols and his family escaped in a breeches buoy, leaving the printing press with the wreck, but another press was found and the *Ocean Chronicle* was published on board the ship *Frank Pendleton* from 1882 to 1891. Each issue contained an account of the current voyage, funny stories (some of which made their appearance in several issues), serious comments on maritime and political affairs, genuine and fictitious advertisements. Although the pages are smaller, the typography is very similar to most country newspapers of the period, and the contents are considerably more amusing.

Very few copies of the *Ocean Chronicle* have survived, but, through the kindness of Captain Nichols' daughters and granddaughter, who lent a complete file for the purpose, the Penobscot Marine Museum has been able to issue the present facsimile reprint. It is a bibliographical curiosity of some interest, as the *Ocean Chronicle* was apparently the only periodical of the sort ever published on board an American sailing vessel engaged in commercial voyages, but it is a great deal more than that. It is not only an entertaining book, but a human document of great value. Mr. Colcord, in his Foreword, well describes it as 'a native product of the sea, written by a man of keen wit, active intelligence, and a literary style of genuine scope and power.' Readers whose appetites have been whetted by 'Domestic Life on American Sailing Ships' will do well to invest in a copy of the *Ocean Chronicle*.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Peabody Museum of Salem

ROBERT ELTON BERRY, *Yankee Stargazer — The Life of Nathaniel Bowditch* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1941). 6" x 9", cloth. xii + 234 pages, 6 illustrations, index. \$2.50.

Nathaniel Bowditch died in 1838 and suitable eulogies by his colleagues and members of his family were pronounced and published. Nevertheless, although the honors of his lifetime have been singularly well remembered in the century since

his death and his *Navigator* is still frequently reissued as a U. S. Government publication, no one until Mr. Berry has attempted to write his biography. It is not an easy task, for, although masses of Bowditch's manuscripts and official correspondence have been preserved, there is little of a personal nature to enliven the story of honesty, industry and successful accomplishment. Shortly after Bowditch's death, a sketch of his life was published for the benefit of the children of the Warren Street Chapel, and possibly the fact that the life made (without distortion or omission) an admirable Sunday School object lesson has scared off later biographers.

Mr. Berry has produced, from uncompromising material, a sound and readable biography, which is entirely adequate. He gives an admirable account of Bowditch's environment and self-education, and carries him through his years as supercargo, shipmaster, insurance official and man of science.

The title *Yankee Stargazer*, combined with the physical appearance of the book and the absence of footnotes and documentation, might cause the casual observer to fear that this was simply another pot-boiling biography of the type that publishers love. I can bear witness, however, that Mr. Berry has worked long and conscientiously in the Massachusetts institutions that possess material relating to Bowditch; that he has had access to many papers still in private hands, and that his statements usually have a solid foundation of fact, even though they are not bolstered by the apparatus of scholarship. *Yankee Stargazer* is a good book, in spite of its title, and one that adds to our knowledge and appreciation of Nathaniel Bowditch.

WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL

Peabody Museum of Salem

HENRY R. WAGNER, *Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, Discoverer of the Coast of California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1941). 6" x 9", cloth. 94 pages. \$2.50.

For over twenty years the author has been the acknowledged authority on Spanish exploration along the Pacific coast. In 1923 he began the publication of the records of those explorations in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, and in 1929 he compiled the series into a large volume: *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast in the Sixteenth Century*.

The volume under review reproduces all the extant material relating to Cabrillo's voyage of 1542 which appeared in the above publications. It thus renders available to many and at small cost the records of the first voyage along the coast of the State of California. It appears at an opportune moment: 28 September 1942, being the four hundredth anniversary of Cabrillo's anchorage in the beautiful harbor of San Diego.

The book is divided into three chapters: Cabrillo, the discoverer; the Summary Journal; Antonio de Herrera's Account. The first chapter serves as an introduction. It deals with Cabrillo's life in New Spain, and sketches his tangled relations with Alvarado and Mendoza. Mr. Wagner's lengthy and patient research has failed to increase our knowledge of Cabrillo's early life. He appears to have been a Portuguese, though the evidence does not clearly establish that fact—if fact it be. The Summary Journal was published in facsimile by Mr. Wagner in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. VII; it would have added interest to the present vol-

ume had it been included; but only a translation is given. Unfortunately the original journal, from which both this summary and Herrera's Account seem to have been prepared, has disappeared and is no longer available.

To the Summary Journal and Herrera's Account Mr. Wagner has appended many critical and scholarly notes, both biographical and bibliographical, together with geographical identifications.

Mr. Wagner outlines Cabrillo's voyage as following the coast northward from Cape San Lucas to San Diego, thence to Catalina Island, through Santa Barbara Channel to Monterey, past Point Pinos (Point Reyes) and continuing to beyond Point Arena. Forced out to sea, Cabrillo, according to his computation, reached 44°, but this, Mr. Wagner, because of the navigator's constant error in latitude, fixes at 41°. From that northern limit, whatever it was, Cabrillo turned southward for Mexico, but died on the way.

The names given by Cabrillo were swept off the map by Viscaino; the identification, therefore, of the places mentioned by him has been a fruitful source of disagreement from the days of Navarrete. Taylor, Henshaw, Bancroft, the late Dr. George Davidson, Dr. H. E. Bolton, and Mr. Wagner have all tried their hands at fitting Cabrillo's vague descriptions and erroneous latitudes to the geography of the region. This reviewer believes that Mr. Wagner's identifications will be accepted in general, inasmuch as his exact knowledge of Spanish language and customs, his mastery of sixteenth-century cartography, and his intimate acquaintance with the appearance of the coastal terrain place him in an unique position in the matter.

The notes, which are in substance those published in the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, evince the author's vast fund of information on the Spanish activities in and emanating from New Spain. Two slips of the pen are noted in them: the latitude of 50° in note 121 on page 93, and the omission of the word 'not' in note 124, page 94.

The omission of any map, even a modern one, and the absence of an index are serious defects in a volume, so scholarly, and so well produced.

F. W. HOWAY

New Westminster, B. C.

GERALD S. GRAHAM, *Sea Power and British North America, 1783-1820: A Study in British Colonial Policy*. Harvard Historical Studies, XLVI. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941). 5¾" x 8⅝", cloth. xiv + 302 pages, 3 maps, 6 charts, index. \$3.50.

It is not easy to suggest an alternative title for this volume, although the precise import of the present one only becomes clear after one has read the first chapter of the text. Briefly, the argument there set forth is as follows: In the eighteenth century Great Britain was acutely aware that both her security and her prestige depended upon the strength of the Royal Navy. The primary aim of national policy was therefore the safeguarding of British sea power. Next to ships, the Navy's greatest need was a large reserve of experienced seamen, who could be enlisted swiftly into the service in time of war. Thus it was in the national interest that there should be as many

British merchant ships as possible, all manned by British sailors. It was with this end in view that the celebrated Navigation Laws had been enacted. Contrary to the popular impression, those Laws did not represent a trading and commercial policy in the ordinary sense. They were framed with the deliberate intention first of fostering, and then exploiting, the merchant marine, overseas trade, and the British colonies, in the interests of the nation's naval strength. All three were thus regarded as being, first and foremost, naval auxiliaries; and it is with this aspect of British sea power, and its influence in North America, that the succeeding chapters of the book are concerned.

The history of the palmy days of the old British Empire which grew up under the Navigation System is a familiar one. Mr. Graham carries one important aspect of the story forward into a period that is less well known. First came the rude shocks dealt to the famous System by the American Revolution. The whole trade routine of the Empire was upset, so far as North America was concerned. And for a number of reasons it proved impossible to achieve a new system and stability to replace the old. The colonies still held by the British, which stretched from the Canadas in the north to the islands in the West Indies in the south, were hard to fit into an effective commercial system. The youthful United States quickly proved themselves to be enterprising and aggressive rivals in trade. Great Britain found herself involved in the long and exhausting Napoleonic Wars. Under the stress and strain of the times the old monopolies and controls began to break down. A new school of economic thought welcomed and encouraged the change. Finally, developments within the Royal Navy itself made the merchant marine less important — or, at least, seem less important — than formerly.

It is with this difficult time of transition that Mr. Graham deals, and students will welcome his careful, well-documented study. Those primarily interested in maritime history will find in it much information regarding trade routes, and such staple trades as those in fish, rum, timber, and wheat. The charts and tables throw light on the character and extent of the shipping of the time. All in all the volume is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the economic history of a period which has long been neglected by historians.

W. KAYE LAMB

University of British Columbia

JOHN G. B. HUTCHINS, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941). 6" x 9", cloth. xxi + 627 pages. \$5.00.

For every student of American shipping or shipbuilding history this book is an essential. Never before has such a careful and thorough study of the subject found its way into print. The future will bring, we hope, detailed studies of certain phases or regions which in this book must be covered only in broad outlines, but Dr. Hutchins's work can well serve as the foundation on which the others should be built.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first is treated in detail the relations between governing bodies and the shipbuilding and shipping industries, tracing the

background, the techniques, and the effects of various policies in regulating and protecting the industries. The second part discusses the wooden ship era beginning with the earliest colonial conditions: the material sources, shipyard organization, the position of marine architecture, and the shipping trade itself. Each of these phases is carried through its development down to the period when the metallic hull superseded that of wood. Part three does the same for the period of metal ships and huge corporate organization.

Not the least important service Dr. Hutchins has performed is the inclusion in his footnotes of the most extensive bibliography on American shipbuilding and shipping history yet compiled. There are some errors in the book, such as dating the construction of the *Ann McKim* in 1839 instead of 1833, but these are of little or no consequence in the main theme. Some of the statements are perhaps, controversial, but they are supported ably.

Unfortunately the book is not one easily read, but despite the text book style and a commonplace format, devoid of illustrations, here is a huge store of sound knowledge and thought with which all students of maritime history should be thoroughly acquainted.

M. V. BREWINGTON

Devon, Pennsylvania

EDWARD A. ACKERMAN, *New England's Fishing Industry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941). 6" x 9", cloth. xx + 303 pages, 122 illustrations, 33 charts, map end-papers. \$4.00.

The New England fishing industry has been the subject of innumerable works written from almost every conceivable viewpoint. For some reason the industry has never had detailed consideration by a geographer, that specialist who brings to bear on the topographical features of a region a knowledge of climatic, political, economic, and biological factors which determine or influence man's behaviour within the region under consideration. Mr. Ackerman has done an excellent job in almost every respect: he points out the location of fishing grounds and the reasons why these particular spots are fishing grounds; he describes the methods and apparatus used in each branch; the manner in which each product is prepared for sale and how it is transported and marketed. A wealth of well chosen photographs illustrate practically every point and a mass of original material is used to document those parts of his discussion which are not matters of his own observation. The book's one shortcoming lies in rather inadequate and sometimes erroneous descriptions of the boats and vessels used in the various fisheries. That is not Mr. Ackerman's fault: there are scores of places to learn about the life cycle of a haddock or a herring; every foot of the ocean bottom off the New England Coast is charted; but nowhere can one find an accurate, comprehensive description of the craft which have made New England's fishing industry famous. Aside from that one fault, the book is a worthwhile addition to the library of the specialist.

M. V. BREWINGTON

Devon, Pennsylvania

JOHN M. RICHARSON, *Steamboat Lore of the Penobscot* (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Print Shop, 1941). 7½" x 10½", cloth. 141 pages, numerous illustrations. \$3.50.

John M. Richardson has published his series of newspaper articles ('Steamboat Days'—Saturdays in the *Courier-Gazette*, Rockland, Maine, July 1939 through March 1941) in revised book form under the very appropriate title of *Steamboat Lore of the Penobscot*. Taken as a whole, the book is an interesting account of first hand experience and facts that have been saved for future use. The book is not a history of steamboating on the beautiful Penobscot, but does serve as a foundation. It covers an important field quite well, a field that previously had hardly been covered at all. Hence we are grateful for the book.

The accounts of Captain Alfred E. Rawley and Captain Otis Ingraham bring memories of other days, as does Captain I. E. Archibald's story. Captain Oscar A. Crockett's Blue Hill Line lives again, and so does the eventful career of the steamboat *J. T. Morse* as told by Jay Allen. The 'Famous Steamboat War' as narrated by Sidney L. Winslow brings out some facts that have heretofore been wanting a satisfactory explanation. Doctor Thomas H. Eames' story of the 'Wreck (or should it be Loss) of the *Portland*' is most interesting. It is colorfully told.

The book is profusely illustrated with many splendid views of the steamboats of the Penobscot, as well as the mishaps to some. Those interested in steamboat stories and outline histories of the vessels that made them, will want a copy.

ELWIN M. ELDREDGE

Hopewell Junction, N. Y.

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941). 6" x 9", cloth. xiv + 420 pages, 16 illustrations, charts reproduced as end-papers. \$4.00.

After twenty years *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* seems as fresh as the day it was published. Its contents are so sound and its style so brilliant that it will bear constant rereading. Its original owners wisely hang on to their copies, and, as a whole new generation of readers has come along since its publication, Houghton Mifflin Company has issued the present edition. The 1921 text is reprinted without change, though the illustrations have been considerably curtailed. The only addition is an entertaining supplement of letters received by the author—what the *New Yorker* would designate as 'Department of Amplification and Correction.' The amplifications and corrections concern very minor points, however, for the book is, and is likely to remain for many years to come, the greatest single contribution to American maritime history.

FANNIE S. CHASE, *Wiscasset in Pownalborough: A History of the Shire Town and the Salient Historical Features of the Territory between the Sheepscot and Kennebec Rivers* (Wiscasset, Maine, 1941). 7½" x 10", buckram. xvi + 640 pages, 65 plates. Available from the Wiscasset Public Library, Wiscasset, Maine. \$10.00.

The late Mrs. Chase undertook the present history of Wiscasset 'in order to preserve, insofar as possible, the Indian lore, tales, traditions, and ships which

brought to this town its all-too-brief period of prosperity, as well as the salient historical features of the territory lying between the valleys of the Kennebec and Sheepscot Rivers.' The result is a monumental book, packed with information of all kinds. The chapters on privateering (pp. 294-319), industries (particularly pp. 432-446), 'Ships of the Sheepscot' (pp. 447-460) and 'Ships and Pirates' (pp. 461-527) are of specifically maritime interest, and there are numerous illustrations of Wiscasset vessels. The material in these chapters is not logically arranged, but a good index somewhat makes up for that. *Wiscasset in Pownalborough* is a welcome addition to the histories of Maine coast towns.

CAPTAIN W. D. PULESTON, U. S. N., *Annapolis — Gangway to the Quarterdeck* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942). 5½" x 8¼", cloth. xvi + 259 pages, 22 illustrations. \$3.00.

An entertainingly written popular account of the origins, evolution and present state of the United States Naval Academy, by the biographer of Mahan.

Centennial Celebration of Portland, Connecticut — 1841-1941 (Portland, Connecticut: Centennial Celebration Committee, 1941). 6" x 9", paper. 80 pages, illustrations. Obtainable from the Town Clerk's Office, Portland, Connecticut.

Contains (pp. 51-54) a brief account of shipbuilding at Portland, and of the Gildersleeve yard (the half-models of which are now in the museum of the Marine Historical Association at Mystic).

PHILLIPS N. CASE, *To the Rescue: a true story* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Blair Manufacturing Company, 1940). 6" x 9", paper. 16 pages, 4 illustrations. Obtainable from the author, Blair Manufacturing Company, Springfield, Massachusetts.

An account of the wreck of the six-masted schooner *Mertie B. Crowley*, 23 January 1910, and of the rescue of her company by Captain Levi Jackson of Edgartown.

CHARLES F. HAYWOOD, *No Ship May Sail* (Lynn, Massachusetts: Nichols-Ellis Press, 1942). 6½" x 8½", cloth. 370 pages. \$2.00.

A lively piece of maritime fiction set in Salem during Jefferson's Embargo. The characters and incidents are purely imaginary, but enough real names and places are introduced to give an air of verisimilitude. In the plot the long arm of coincidence is occasionally stretched a little far, but the tale is full of vitality and holds the reader's attention to the end.

Bibliography of Maritime Articles in Periodical Publications for the Year 1941

THIS bibliography comprises articles dealing with subjects similar to those treated by THE AMERICAN NEPTUNE that have appeared in other periodical publications during the past year. No attempt has been made to list all the articles in such closely allied publications as the *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* and *Steamboat Bill*. Readers of the NEPTUNE will confer a favor on the Editors by sending them notes of similar articles as they appear in the course of the present year, particularly from periodicals outside the maritime and naval fields.

GENERAL

BOWEN, FRANK C., 'Sailing Ship News' (weekly column on *Sea Breeze* page), *The Journal of Commerce*, Liverpool, Saturdays.

CHASE, GEORGE DAVIS, 'Sea-terms that have come ashore,' *New England Quarterly*, XIV (1941), 272-291.

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